

Tracts on Listening to Music





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# TRACTS ON LISTENING TO MUSIC

Being

*Dhamm al-malāhī* by Ibn abī 'l-Dunyā and  
*Bawāriq al-ilmā'* by Majd al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī

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Edited with

Introduction, Translation, and Notes

BY

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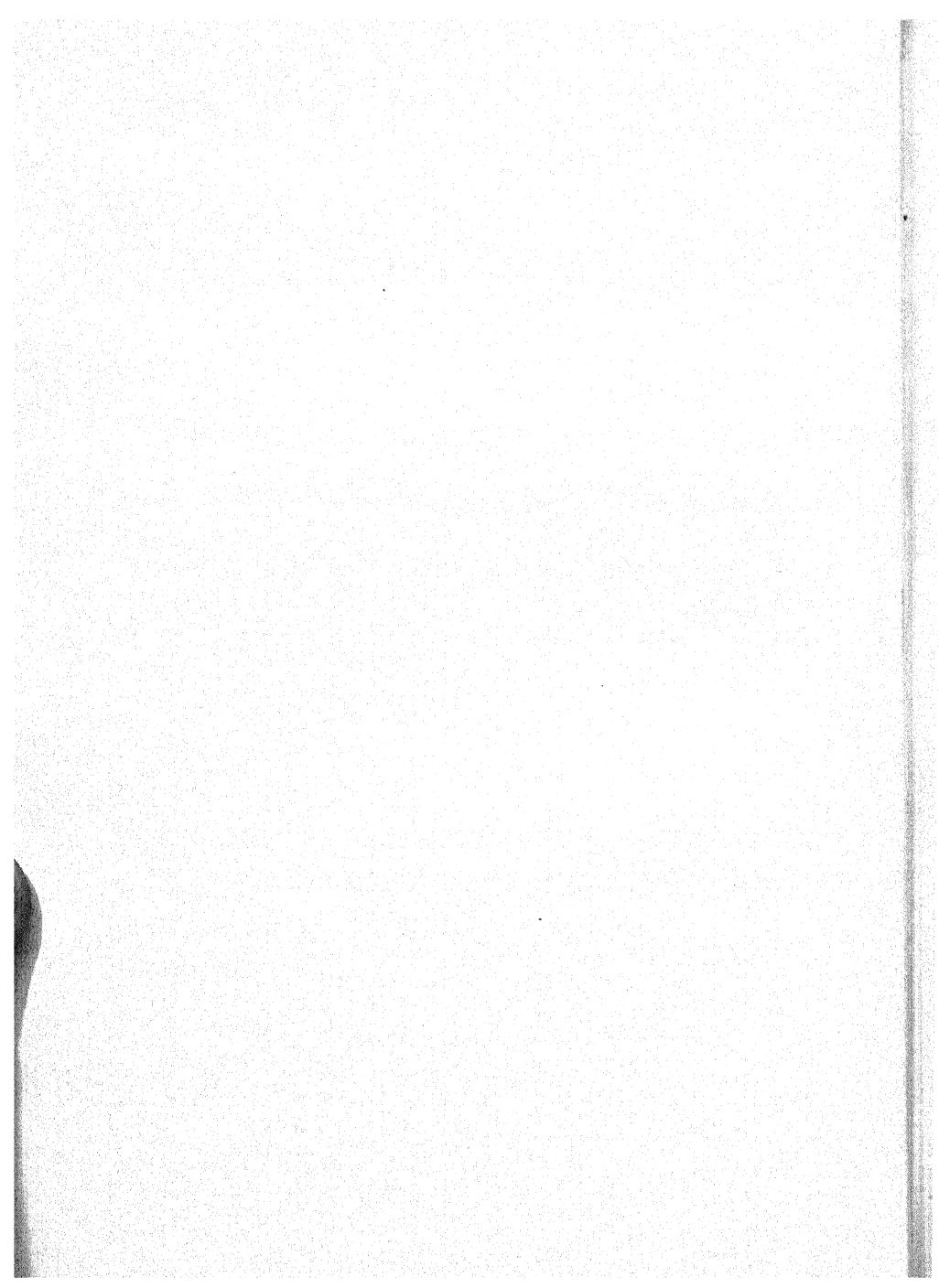
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## PREFACE

The present volume presents two Arabic works which, though vastly different in style and outlook, deal with the same general subject. One roundly condemns music and the other approves of it.

In dealing with Ibn abī 'l-Dunyā's work, I have made use of only the Berlin manuscript, although three manuscripts of which I have knowledge are mentioned on page 17. My friend, Mr. A. S. Fulton, very kindly made inquiries for me about the Damascus manuscript while on a visit to that city, but discovered that it was out on loan and so was not available. The existence of the Istanbul copy came to my knowledge only when Brockelmann's Supplementband referring to it was published, and by that time the copy was in the printer's hands.

After the copy had all been set up, Brockelmann's Supplementband (i, 756) containing references to the works of Majd al-Dīn was published, and I was surprised to find that *Bawāriq al-ilmā'* is there stated to have been published in Lucknow in 1317 A.H. along with Ibn Zaghḍūn's *Farah al-asmā'*. I immediately made inquiries about this book, but have been unable to obtain a copy. From the description, it seems probable that Majd al-Dīn's work appears in the margin, and therefore does not make the present text superfluous.

My grateful thanks are due to Dr. Henry G. Farmer, who drew my attention to the two works contained in this volume, and very kindly lent me rotograph copies of the two Berlin

manuscripts. To Professor R. A. Nicholson, whom I consulted regarding the poetical passages, I am greatly indebted. I wrote to him as a complete stranger, and was charmed by the cordiality of his reply and the readiness with which he threw light on my difficulties.

Finally, I owe a deep debt of gratitude to the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society for making it possible for me to have this book published.

J. R.

GLASGOW.

*November, 1937.*

## INTRODUCTION

THE question of the lawfulness of listening to music has been the subject of long controversy among Muslims, a controversy, it would seem, which can never be settled. Very naturally both parties apply to the Qur'ān and Tradition to support their views, as these are fundamental bases of Islām.

Al-Nuwairī (d. 732/1332) has made a collection of verses from the Qur'ān quoted by opponents of audition (*samā'*).<sup>1</sup> They are: xxiii, 1-3, "The believers who are humble in their prayers and who turn aside from vain talk are prosperous"; xxv, 72, "And those who do not bear false witness, and when they pass idle talk, pass honourably"; xxviii, 55, "And when they hear vain talk, they turn away from it"; xxxi, 5, "And among men are those who buy sportive talk to lead astray from Allāh's path without knowledge, and make a mock of it. Those will have a shameful punishment"; xvii, 66 (spoken by Allāh to Iblīs), "And excite those of them whom you can with your voice"; liii, 59-61, "Do you wonder at this talk? And do you laugh and not weep, while you are amusing yourselves (*sāmidūna*)?" Ibn 'Abbās and Mujāhid are quoted as saying that *sāmidūna* means that they were singing.

Al-Qushairī (d. 465/1072) quotes some verses to uphold the lawfulness of music. They are: xxxix, 19, "Give glad tidings to my servants who listen to the word and follow the best of it"; xxx, 14, "And they in a garden shall be glad" (*yahbirūna*, which is interpreted as meaning that they will listen)<sup>2</sup>; xxxv, 1, "He adds in the creation what He pleases." This is interpreted as referring to the beautiful

<sup>1</sup> *Nihāyat al-arab*, iv, 133.

<sup>2</sup> *Risāla*, p. 178.

voice. Reference is also made to xxxi, 18, "The most disagreeable of voices is the voice of asses,"<sup>1</sup> the argument evidently being that dislike of one type of sound involves liking for others.<sup>2</sup>

These verses are very indefinite, so those who would support their views by reference to the Qur'ān are forced to give a special interpretation to the verses they quote.

When they turn to Tradition they have more scope, for it contains material which supports both parties. For example, opponents of music can quote 'Ā'ishā<sup>3</sup> as saying that the Prophet prohibited singing-girls,<sup>4</sup> while the other party can quote traditions which tell how Muḥammad listened to two singing-girls in 'Ā'ishā's house.<sup>5</sup> Those who oppose music are generally content to make their quotations and ignore the other party's arguments, while those who favour it take up the arguments used against them and criticize the validity<sup>6</sup> or interpretation<sup>7</sup> of the traditions quoted against music.

The opponents of music receive valuable support from the schools of canon law. They say that the four Sunnī *imāms* disapproved of music,<sup>8</sup> but stories are told which suggest that Abū Ḥanīfa,<sup>9</sup> Mālik,<sup>10</sup> and Al-Shāfi'ī<sup>11</sup> appreciated it. The doctors who elaborated the laws of the schools, however, generally pronounce against it. For example, the *Hidāya*, a Ḥanafī law book, says that professional wailing-women and singing-women, people who sing to the accompaniment of the pandore (*tanbūr*), or sing in public, are persons whose

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 180.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj, *Kitāb al-Luma'*, 273 f.

<sup>3</sup> Muḥammad's favourite wife.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted by Al-Ghazālī, *JRAS.* (1901), p. 244. Ibn abī 'l-Dunyā gives it on the authority of Abū Umāma (see p. 23).

<sup>5</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Īdāin*, 2.

<sup>6</sup> Al-Nuwairī, op. cit., pp. 149 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *JRAS.* (1901), pp. 244 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Al-Nuwairī, op. cit., pp. 134 f.; *JRAS.* (1901), 201, 202, 204.

<sup>9</sup> *Iqd.* iv, 96.

<sup>10</sup> Al-Qushairī, *Risāla*, 179; *Aghāmī*, iv, 39; *Iqd.* iv, 93; *Al-Luma'*, 276.

<sup>11</sup> Al-Qushairī, *Risāla*. 180.



testimony is not accepted.<sup>1</sup> Al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277), a Shāfi'ī doctor, prohibits instruments which excite the hearers to partake of forbidden drinks. He allows a tambourine (*duff*) at a wedding, a circumcision, or on festive occasions, but says that the *kūba*<sup>2</sup> must never be played. He allows the song of the camel drivers, but prohibits every other kind of unaccompanied singing.<sup>3</sup> He also holds that it is lawful to break instruments of music without incurring any liability.<sup>4</sup> Shī'a law is also strict. Even chanting the Qur'ān to excite pleasure places one among those whose testimony is not accepted. The tambourine is tolerated at a wedding or circumcision, but even this is blameworthy.<sup>5</sup> No profit must be made from singing, or bewailing the dead.<sup>6</sup>

An interesting aspect of the controversy is that both parties can apply to dreams in which the Prophet appeared. Tradition says, "He who sees me (i.e. Muḥammad) in a dream has seen me, for the devil does not take my form; and a believer's vision is a forty-sixth part of prophecy."<sup>7</sup> It is therefore natural that people should believe in such dreams, but it is rather perplexing to find that they contradict one another. Mīmshād al-Dīnawarī (d. 299/912) was told by Muḥammad in a dream that he did not at all disapprove of listening to music.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, Al-Qushairī tells of some unnamed person who heard Muḥammad in a dream saying, "The mistake is greatest in this," the reference being to audition.<sup>9</sup>

The real source of the dispute is obviously the fact that

<sup>1</sup> *Hidāyah* (Calcutta), iii, 376.

<sup>2</sup> A drum narrow at the middle and wide at the ends. It was forbidden because it was used by the *mukhanmathūn* who had a bad reputation. Cf. *JRAS.* (1901), 213, 237.

<sup>3</sup> *Minhāj*, p. 515.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 200. Cf. *Al-Fakhri*, p. 115, where there is a story of the Caliph Al-Manṣūr breaking a pandore (*tanbūr*).

<sup>5</sup> Querry, *Droit Musulman*, ii, 455.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 359.

<sup>7</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Ta'bīr al-ru'ya*, 10.

<sup>8</sup> Al-Nābulusī, *Idāh al-dalālāt*, p. 67.

<sup>9</sup> *Risāla*, p. 186.

music very often had evil associations, such as wine drinking, immorality, and neglect of religious duties; therefore many declared it unlawful. Their reasons must be respected, as they were serious men who deplored the influences which led the young astray. Their attitude was that of puritans in all ages, who feel that worldly pleasure must have no place in life. The other party also included men who recognized the dangers of music and were careful to point out that a general declaration of its lawfulness cannot be made. But they had the insight to recognize that the evil associations were not an essential part of music, and therefore they permitted it to those who could enjoy it without wrongdoing.<sup>1</sup>

The mystics have a special interest in music, looking on it more as a spiritual exercise than an art. It has a powerful influence which may be used for spiritual purposes. It is said that "the temperaments of all living creatures are composed of sounds and melodies blended and harmonized".<sup>2</sup> Al-Hujwiri (d. c. 465/1072) tells of an instrument which he calls *angalyin*, used by Greek doctors in hospitals to cure the sick; but it is said that if a patient were forced to listen to it too long, it would kill him. The doctors, however, are not so affected, "because it is consonant with their

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Kashf al-mahjūb*, p. 402; *JRAS.* (1901), pp. 212 ff.; Al-Nābulusī, op. cit., pp. 42, 75, 80 ff. I am indebted to Dr. Henry G. Farmer for a reference to the Rev. J. W. Macmeeke's *History of the Scottish Metrical Psalms*, pp. 98 ff., where an extract is given from Calvin's introduction to the Genevan Psalter of 1543. He says (p. 99), "But amongst other things which are suitable for the recreation of men, and for yielding them pleasure, music is either the first, or one of the chief, and we must esteem it a gift of God bestowed for that end. Therefore, by so much the more, we ought to see that it is not abused, for fear of soiling and contaminating it; turning that to our condemnation which was given for our profit and good. Even were there no other consideration than this alone, it ought to move us to regulate the use of music, so as to make it subservient to all good morals, and that it should not give occasion for loosing the bridle of dissoluteness, that it should not lead to voluptuousness, nor be the instrument of immodesty and impurity." This is essentially the same argument as that used by Al-Ḡhazālī and other Muslims, who hold that music is lawful.

<sup>2</sup> *Kashf al-mahjūb*, 399.

temperaments.”<sup>1</sup> This overwhelming power of music is represented in many tales of people fainting or dying on hearing a song.<sup>2</sup> Al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), speaking of the value of music, says that a philosopher declared, “There is in the heart a glorious excellency; the force of speech is not able to elicit it with words, but the soul can do it with melodies.”<sup>3</sup> Abū Sulaimān al-Dārānī (d. 215/830) said, “The beautiful voice does not introduce anything into the heart; it simply stirs in the heart what is in it.”<sup>4</sup>

This natural tendency to be stirred by music makes it necessary for one to be careful, because music may have an evil origin. Al-Hujwīrī tells how Abū’l-Hārith Bunānī was one night charmed by audition; but when the *shaiikh* informed him in the morning that he was Iblis and that the company was composed of his children, explaining that he did this to bewail his separation from God and to lead holy men astray, Bunānī resolved to have nothing more to do with audition.<sup>5</sup> That charming music may have a diabolic origin is also indicated in a story of Ibrāhīm al-Mausilī (d. 188/804), who declared that three songs with which he delighted Hārūn al-Rashīd on one occasion had been taught him by Iblīs.<sup>6</sup> Al-Hujwīrī tells how Al-Ashqānī once saw naked demons dancing among the members of a party assembled for audition.<sup>7</sup> Abū Tālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996) tells of a *shaiikh* who saw Al-Khaḍir<sup>8</sup> and asked him what he had to say about audition. He replied, “It is the slippery stone on which only the feet of the learned stand fast.”<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., 407.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ‘*Iqd*, iv, 125 ff.; Al-Qushairī, *Risāla*, 184; *Kashf al-mahjūb*, 396, 409 f.; *Al-Luma’*, 285 ff., 289; *JRAS.* (1901), 735 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 721.

<sup>4</sup> Al-Qushairī, *Risāla*, 185.

<sup>5</sup> *Kashf al-mahjūb*, 411 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Aghānī*, v, 36 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Kashf*, 412.

<sup>8</sup> A legendary figure mentioned in Qur. xviii, 59 ff. See *Enc. of Islām*, ii, 861 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Qūt al-qulūb*, iii, 90.

Thus very definite advice is given regarding those who should practise audition. Al-Makkī says that if any carnal passion is stirred, audition is forbidden; if one listens to one's wife or slave girl it is doubtful, as this may be mere amusement; but if one seeks spiritual enlightenment it is lawful.<sup>1</sup> Abū 'Alī al-Daqqāq (d. 406/1015) said, "Audition is forbidden to the commonalty on account of carnal desire remaining in them, allowable to the ascetics for the attainment of what they strive after, approved for the mystics for the life of their hearts."<sup>2</sup> There is fairly general agreement that audition is dangerous for novices. Al-Junaid (d. 297/910) said, "When you see a novice fond of audition, know that there is a remnant of idleness in him."<sup>3</sup> The suggestion is that he is trying to attain the highest grade of illumination without taking the trouble to fight against carnal desires and rise through the various stations through which the mystic should pass. Al-Hujwiri feels that there is a moral danger in their presence at audition, as women often look on, and young reprobates may join the company.<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere he says there is a danger of "having their passions violently roused and their virtue corrupted".<sup>5</sup> Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj (d. 378/988) allows a novice to listen, provided he is directed by a *shaiikh*. He is thus kept from mere amusement, and is preserved from the danger of holding erroneous religious ideas.<sup>6</sup> Al-Makkī quotes without comment a statement that audition is good only for a gnostic who is firmly established, but not for a novice.<sup>7</sup> Al-Ghazālī, on the other hand, does not forbid novices to take part in audition, but he issues a warning. He says they cannot understand as much as an advanced mystic, and therefore should apply what they hear only to the states they have reached.<sup>8</sup> Elsewhere he speaks of audition as helpful to them, as it causes

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 183.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 412.

<sup>4</sup> *Qūt*, iii, 91.

<sup>5</sup> Al-Qushairī, *Risāla*, 181.

<sup>6</sup> *Kashf*, 420.

<sup>7</sup> *Al-Luma'*, 288.

<sup>8</sup> *JRAS.* (1901), 709.

them to think seriously of their religious duties.<sup>1</sup> He emphasizes the necessity of having true knowledge to reap the benefit of audition. Those who have not sufficient knowledge of Allāh and His attributes are liable to apply what they hear both to what is allowable and what is not allowable, in which event the harm is greater than the benefit.<sup>2</sup> Al-Hujwīrī speaks similarly. He says, "You must know that each Ṣūfī has a particular grade in audition and that the feelings which he gains therefrom are proportionate to his grade."<sup>3</sup> Abū 'Alī al-Daqqāq says that he who engages in audition must have knowledge of Islām and Allāh's attributes, otherwise he will fall into infidelity.<sup>4</sup> Abū 'Uthmān al-Ḥirī says novices in audition are liable to claim noble states which are not theirs.<sup>5</sup> In this he agrees with Al-Sarrāj.<sup>6</sup> Al-Ghazālī states clearly that "the understanding of what is heard varies with the states of the listener".<sup>7</sup>

The dangers connected with audition have made some feel that it is better left alone. Al-Sarrāj mentions objections to it on the ground that it brings one into association with frivolous people, that it gives no provision for the grave, and that it is not a means of salvation.<sup>8</sup> Al-Hujwīrī says it should not be made a habit.<sup>9</sup> There was also a feeling that it was a practice which ought to be outgrown. Al-Kalābādhi (d. 385/995) says that those mystics who enjoy direct experience of Allāh require no such help.<sup>10</sup> This may be related to Al-Hujwīrī's saying that hearing is mediate and immediate. When a reciter is the source of audition, it denotes absence,

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., 706. Majd al-Dīn permits novices to take part in audition. Cf. p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> JRAS. (1902), p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Kashf*, 406.

<sup>4</sup> Al-Qushairī, *Risāla*, 181.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 182.

<sup>6</sup> *Al-Luma'*, 277.

<sup>7</sup> JRAS. (1901), 712.

<sup>8</sup> *Al-Luma'*, 299 f.

<sup>9</sup> *Kashf*, 171, 418 f.; cf. *Futūḥāt*, ii, 366 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Ta'arruf* (Arberry), 166. Cf. *Al-Luma'*, 300.

but when the audition comes from the Beloved Himself, it denotes presence.<sup>1</sup> Mimshād al-Dīnawarī said that if all the musical instruments in the world were united in his ear, they would neither distract him nor do him any good.<sup>2</sup> Al-Hujwīrī's shaiḥ said, "Audition is the viaticum of the indigent: one who has reached his journey's end hath no need of it."<sup>3</sup> Elsewhere we are told that some avoid audition so as not to lead others astray, others because they fear injury to themselves, and others because they consider it child's play.<sup>4</sup> Al-Ghazālī also says that some advance to a stage in which they do not need audition.<sup>5</sup>

But while much is said against audition, there is much to be said for it. Al-Sarrāj quotes with approval a saying that he who does not love good audition has a defect.<sup>6</sup> Al-Hujwīrī says that it is hearing which makes religion obligatory, and so he decides that it has a high place.<sup>7</sup> Al-Qushairī holds that audition leads one to have a keen desire to please Allāh.<sup>8</sup> Al-Kalābādhī says music is the food of the spirit, and when the spirit receives its food it turns aside from the government of the body.<sup>9</sup> Al-Ghazālī quotes words to the effect that audition has a strengthening, cleansing, and directive value.<sup>10</sup> Al-Makkī speaks approvingly of those who have their desire for Allāh quickened, their faith strengthened, and their insight into eternal verities illuminated by audition.<sup>11</sup> Dhū'l-Nūn (d. 245/860) said that "audition is a divine influence which stirs the heart to seek God; those who listen to it spiritually attain unto God, and those who listen to it sensually fall into heresy".<sup>12</sup> Al-Junaid said, "Mercy descends on the poor men in audition, for they hear only from truth and speak only from ecstasy."<sup>13</sup> Al-Ghazālī says that audition

<sup>1</sup> *Kashf*, 405.

<sup>2</sup> Al-Qushairī, *Risāla*, 185.

<sup>3</sup> *Kashf*, 405.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 412 f.

<sup>5</sup> *JRAS.* (1902), 7 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Al-Luma'*, 272.

<sup>7</sup> *Kashf*, 393.

<sup>8</sup> *Risāla*, 179.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, 167.

<sup>10</sup> *JRAS.* (1901), 721.

<sup>11</sup> *Qūt*, iii, 91.

<sup>12</sup> *Kashf*, 404. Cf. *Risāla*, 181.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, loc. cit.; cf. *Qūt*, iii, 90; *Ta'arruf*, 167.

reveals things which before were unrevealed. It does this by admonition and by purifying and strengthening the heart.<sup>1</sup> Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 632/1235) says that audition causes the soul to remember its true nature and strive to free itself from the trammels of the flesh.<sup>2</sup>

The purpose of audition is commonly considered to be the attainment of ecstasy. This may sometimes assume rather a childish aspect, such as that described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 779/1377), where he speaks of the darwīshes of the *ṭarīqa* of Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī kindling a fire, then dancing and rolling over it and eating the burning fuel<sup>3</sup>; or some of the practices described by Lane in his *Modern Egyptians*.<sup>4</sup> But earlier writers deal with the subject in a serious manner. Al-Kalābādhī speaks of commotion and movement as being a natural outcome of audition.<sup>5</sup> Ecstasy may take different forms. Nicholson speaks of Abū Saʿīd (d. 440/1049) and other darwīshes circumambulating a tomb, shrieking ecstatically.<sup>6</sup> On another occasion Abū Saʿīd and his companions fell into transports of ecstasy, and when the call to prayer was made, they refused to respond, insisting that they were actually engaged in prayer.<sup>7</sup> We are told that Al-Ḥallāj (d. 309/922) danced when ecstasy came upon him.<sup>8</sup> But the excitement of ecstasy was not always looked on with approval. Al-Hujwīrī suggests that genuine ecstasy is quiescent. He says that beginners are excited because their bodies are opposed to the divine influence, but that after becoming accustomed to it by practice they can receive it quietly.<sup>9</sup> Elsewhere, however, he suggests the twofold aspect of ecstasy, when he says that it either agitates because of ardent longing, or calms by contemplation.<sup>10</sup> A story is told of Al-Junaid becoming

<sup>1</sup> *JRAS.* (1901), 723.

<sup>2</sup> Nicholson, *Studies*, 236.

<sup>3</sup> *Voyages*, ii, 4 f.

<sup>4</sup> pp. 410 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ta'arruf*, 167.

<sup>6</sup> *Studies*, 25.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 60 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Passion*, 796.

<sup>9</sup> *Kashf*, 408.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 414. Cf. *Al-Luma'*, 308, where it is said that ecstasy may produce either quiescence or movement. Neither effect can be said to be superior, as it depends on the cause.

exasperated with a youth who was given to shouting when he was stirred, and telling him that they would have to part company if it happened again.<sup>1</sup> But whether ecstasy manifested itself by commotion or quiescence, it was looked on as the purpose of audition; and therefore, while some say that one must wait till it comes as an overpowering influence, there are others who say that it may be induced. Al-Ghazālī says that everything must be learned by effort, and that this applies to ecstasy.<sup>2</sup> Provided one is sincere, what at first comes by effort will later become natural. In this he agrees with Al-Hujwīrī.<sup>3</sup>

There are different opinions regarding the most suitable medium for audition. Some hold that recitation of the Qur'ān is most effective. Al-Hujwīrī says it is most beneficial to the mind and most delightful to the ear; one never grows weary of it.<sup>4</sup> Al-Makkī says listening to the Qur'ān is lawful, listening to singing unlawful, listening to odes of a religious nature doubtful.<sup>5</sup> But others found poetry more effective. Yūsuf ibn al-Ḥusain al-Rāzī was once deeply stirred on hearing a verse of poetry, and it disturbed him to think that he had been reading the Qur'ān for hours without any such emotion.<sup>6</sup> Al-Sarrāj expresses the novel view that the preference for poetry set to music really shows respect for the Qur'ān, as it is of divine origin, and therefore cannot be adorned by music, which is of human origin.<sup>7</sup> Al-Ghazālī deals with the matter at length, giving reasons why poetry may be more effective than the Qur'ān. Among them he says that the very familiarity of the words of the Qur'ān may make them lose their force, whereas some unfamiliar verse of poetry may stir the heart.<sup>8</sup> The value of poetry was recognized, and in assemblies for audition both the Qur'ān and poetry have commonly been used.

<sup>1</sup> *Risāla*, 184.

<sup>2</sup> *Kashf*, 415 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Qūt*, i, 118.

<sup>4</sup> *Al-Luma'*, 283 f.

<sup>5</sup> *JRAS.* (1901), 730 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 394.

<sup>7</sup> *Risāla*, 184; *Al-Luma'*, 291 f.

<sup>8</sup> *JRAS.* (1901), 738 ff.



Al-Junaïd said that audition must have the time, the place, and the brethren.<sup>1</sup> By these words he meant that the advantages of audition are attained in favourable circumstances and among like-minded people. When people assemble there should be a *shaiikh* to direct the proceedings.<sup>2</sup> This is meant to ensure that everything is done decently and in order. When the brethren gather, they must concentrate on the matter in hand, neither paying attention to what happens to other members of the company nor wondering what others are thinking of them.<sup>3</sup> They must be careful not to disturb anyone, or to think of the externals of the occasion. Thus it is wrong for anyone to compliment the singer on the high quality of his singing, or to criticize him if it seems poor.<sup>4</sup> One must think only of Allāh, for He is the one whom they seek in their audition.

It is thus seen that the mystics have taken an intermediate position between men like Ibn abī'l-Dunyā who condemn music root and branch, and those who practise it as an art. They are not interested in it for its own sake and are inclined to condemn it when employed for mere sensual enjoyment. But they contest ardently with those who declare all music unlawful, for they recognize that it has a power to stir the heart which, if rightly directed, may lead to great spiritual exaltation.<sup>5</sup>

Ibn abī'l-Dunyā, as is seen from his tract on instruments of diversion, is not content with condemning music; he condemns various games and pleasures. He is on sure ground in his condemnation of gambling, as in this he follows Qur'ānic teaching.<sup>6</sup> He has also good authority for his denunciation

<sup>1</sup> *Risāla*, 181.

<sup>2</sup> *Kashf*, 419.

<sup>3</sup> *JRAS.* (1902), 3 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Kashf*, 419.

<sup>5</sup> For further information on the general subject of audition, see *Enc. of Islām*, iv, 120 f.; Farmer, *History*, 22 ff.; *JRAS.* (1933), 867 ff. (1935), 340; Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, 63 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Qur. ii, 216; v, 92 f.

of backgammon (*nard*),<sup>1</sup> a game which is generally prohibited, because it was always associated with gambling. But he does not have the same support in his condemnation of chess.<sup>2</sup> This game was sometimes played for a stake, and in such circumstances is disapproved; but generally it is considered lawful provided there is no stake, neglect of prayer, or false swearing connected with it.<sup>3</sup> On children's games which involve gambling he takes a non-committal attitude, mentioning views both for and against. He may have inclined to Al-Ḥasan's opinion which he quotes, that children are too young to be subject to religious duties.<sup>4</sup>

He condemns the flying of pigeons without giving any reason, possibly because the wrongfulness of the practice was generally recognized. The *Hidāya* condemns it because it produces negligence, and because those engaged in it do it on the roofs of their houses, and so sometimes see the women on neighbouring roofs.<sup>5</sup>

The condemnation of killing animals with clay bullets is

<sup>1</sup> See the relative passage in the trans. of Ibn abī'l-Dunyā's *Censure of Instruments of Diversion*, with references noted there, and *Enc. of Islām*, ii, 1009.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Qutaiba, *Al-ma'sir wa'l-qidāh*, 36 f., says that backgammon is to be prohibited because it consists of gambling. While he does not approve of chess, because it makes people neglect religious duties and is played in private, a practice which suggests something evil, he does not feel that it can be prohibited.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, ii, 1009; iv, 338. Al-Nawawī (*Minhāj*, 515) includes habitual chess-players among people wanting in seriousness. The *Hidāya* (iii, 377) says that those who gamble at backgammon and chess, or are so engrossed in them that they neglect prayer, are people whose testimony is not accepted. But it adds that the game of chess itself is lawful. Shī'a law, however (Querry, ii, 454 f.), forbids both chess and backgammon, even as pastimes.

<sup>4</sup> Al-Jāhiz, *Ḥayawān*, ii, 106, mentions some authorities who considered children's games lawful, even when they included gambling.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, iii, 58, where it is said that 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, the third Caliph, would have liked to kill all pigeons, but decided that only those used by youths and tricksters for wagering and gambling, and by people who go on roofs and overlook their neighbours' women's quarters, should be killed.

natural, because no blood is shed, and therefore such animals are not lawful food.<sup>1</sup>

Ibn abī'l-Dunyā shows his puritan nature in his tract. He evidently felt that time spent on any pursuit which was not of a serious nature was wasted, and so condemned recreations in general.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Hidāya*, iv, 1147, where this is given as the reason for the condemnation.

<sup>2</sup> One game which did not exist in Ibn abī'l-Dunyā's time, but which would certainly have earned his disapproval, is cards. The reason for mentioning this is to correct an error in the *Enc. of Islām*, ii, 1009, where it is said that "the Arabs have never taken to them". The present writer can state from personal observation that cards are very popular among the Arabs of the Aden peninsula and the neighbouring village of Shaikh 'Uthmān. Another game popular there is called *qāma*. It is a game of draughts in which each player has sixteen pieces, and is known in this country as Turkish chess. It may be of interest to remark that the present writer once played a game of *qāma* with an Arab at a coffee shop in Shaikh 'Uthmān, but was advised by some Arab friends not to do so again, as it was not looked upon as respectable.

## II

### IBN ABĪ'L-DUNYĀ

**A**LTHOUGH Ibn abī'l-Dunyā is among the lesser known Arabic writers, the references to him which have been preserved show that he was generally respected in his own day and that his writings were valued for many centuries after his death.

His full name was Abū Bakr 'Abdallāh<sup>1</sup> ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Ubaid<sup>2</sup> ibn abī'l-Dunyā al-Qurashī al-Baghdādī. He was born in 208 (823) and died in 281 (894). In his history, Ibn al-Athīr takes each year by itself, and before passing on to the next, he mentions the famous men who died during the year with which he has just dealt. When he speaks of the year 281, Ibn abī'l-Dunyā is the only one to be mentioned. The notice says, "In it died 'Ubaidallāh ibn abī'l-Dunyā, the writer of the many famous compositions."<sup>3</sup>

He was tutor to the Caliph Al-Mu'taḍid<sup>4</sup> and to this Caliph's son, Al-Muktafi.<sup>5</sup> Thus he had influence in the highest circles. But his manner of life was not affected by such exalted connections. He lived a retired life devoted to religion and to study, and looked with displeasure on worldly amusements.

<sup>1</sup> Ḥājji Khalifa, who mentions a number of his works, always gives this form. Cf. iii, 336, iv, 410, etc. The *Fihrist* (Cairo edit.), p. 262, and Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rīkh*, vii, 155, give 'Ubaidallāh. A Wiener, in *Der Islam* (1913), p. 279, suggests that the name may have been changed from 'Abdallāh to 'Ubaidallāh under the influence of the name of his grandfather, 'Ubaid, which follows. On the other hand, it may be reasonably argued that the shortening of 'Ubaidallāh is more probable than the lengthening of 'Abdallāh. Brockelmann, in his *Gesch. d. arab. Lit.*, i, 153, gives 'Abdallāh (he says Ibn 'Abdallāh), but in his later article in the *Enc. of Islām*, ii, 355, he gives the longer form in brackets, as an alternative, without comment.

<sup>2</sup> Wiener, loc. cit., adds Ibn Sufyān ibn Qais.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., vii, 155.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn Khallikān (De Slane), i, 531 n.

<sup>5</sup> *Fihrist* (Cairo), p. 262. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, i, 12.

He was a great student of Tradition, and was quoted by many as an authority. For example, Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-'Arabī (d. 638/1240) quotes a tradition about Al-Ḥasan as coming from the *ḥadīth* of Ibn abi'l-Dunyā.<sup>1</sup> Yāqūt (d. 626/1229) says that Ibn Māja, Ibn abi'l-Dunyā, and others related traditions on the authority of Al-Zubair ibn Bakkār.<sup>2</sup> Such incidental references suggest that Ibn abi'l-Dunyā was an authority of note.

The qāḍī Yūsuf ibn Ya'qūb offered the prayers at Ibn abi'l-Dunyā's funeral, and the distinguished traditionist, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Umar, pronounced the *rahḥamaka'llāh* (Allāh have mercy on you).<sup>3</sup> The fact that such men took part in his funeral ceremonies would indicate the high position held by Ibn abi'l-Dunyā in the estimation of his contemporaries.

Wiener has collected a list of 102 books by Ibn abi'l-Dunyā,<sup>4</sup> of which only nineteen are extant. Among his books there is a group of seven which are of interest for our present purpose, as they have the common title *ḍhamm* (censure). They are (1) *Ḍhamm al-ḥasad* (censure of envy); (2) *Ḍhamm al-dunyā* (censure of the world); (3) *Ḍhamm al-ghaḍab* (censure of anger); (4) *Ḍhamm al-ghība* (censure of slander); (5) *Ḍhamm al-faḥsh* (censure of obscenity); (6) *Ḍhamm al-muskir* (censure of intoxicants); (7) *Ḍhamm al-malāḥī* (censure of instruments of diversion). Of these (2), (6), and (7) are extant. This group, which includes the MS. about to be translated, indicates his attitude of mind. He was the enemy of things which seemed to him to conflict with religion, and he had no hesitation in making a frontal attack upon them.

<sup>1</sup> *Muḥāḍarāt al-abrār wa musāmarāt al-akhḡār*, i, 194.

<sup>2</sup> *Dictionary of Learned Men*, iv, 218. Cf. also *Qūt al-qulūb*, i, 29, where he is quoted as handing down from the Prophet a tradition giving an interpretation of Qur. xxxii, 16.

<sup>3</sup> Wiener, op. cit., p. 280.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., pp. 413-419.

The *Fihrist*<sup>1</sup> mentions a book called *Kitāb al-aṣwāt* (the book of the voices). This work is not extant, but its title suggests that it may have given more light on Ibn abī'l-Dunyā's opinions regarding music.

Among the opponents of music Ibn abī'l-Dunyā deserves notice, as his *ḍhamm al-malāhī* is the earliest book which is known on the subject.

<sup>1</sup> p. 262.

### III

#### DHAMM AL-MALĀHĪ.

##### THE MS.

THE present text of Ibn abī'l-Dunyā's *Dhamm al-malāhī* is based on a MS. in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek (Ahlwardt, 5504, folios 52b to 61b), from a photographic reproduction kindly supplied by Dr. Henry G. Farmer. It occurs along with a number of treatises on various subjects in the Landberg collection (Lbg. 1019). It is immediately preceded by a *risāla fī'l-samā' wa'l-raḡṡ wa'l-surākh wa'stimā' inshād al-shi'r wa ghairihi* (letter on audition, dancing, shouting, and listening to the recitation of poetry, etc.), by Ibn Taimīya (d. 728/1328); and immediately followed by a short anonymous tract entitled *mau'iza fī'l-malāhī* (admonition concerning instruments of diversion). These are all in the same handwriting, and at the end of the last there is a note stating that it was copied in *Dhū'l-Hijja*, 782 (February–March, 1381).

There is a copy of the *Dhamm al-malāhī* in the Zāhiriya in Damascus, mentioned by Ḥabīb al-Zaiyāt in his *khazā'in al-kutub fī Dimashq wa-ḡawāḥihā*, p. 33, No. 59, 2. Brockelmann, in his Supplement, i, 247, mentions another, the reference being *Defteri K. Lāleli*, Stambul, 1310, 3664 (*MO.*, vii, 107; *ZS.*, i, 217).

The Berlin copy is in a very good state of preservation. A blotch obscures part of the word *al-bāṭil* below the middle of F. 55b, and the word *al-lūṭī* at the top of F. 61a. Two words on F. 60b and one on F. 61a are cut short through coming at the end of a line. Reference is made to them in the notes on the text. Otherwise the MS. is generally easily legible, although the copyist is often careless in his writing.

A few peculiarities of the writing may be mentioned here, as they have been changed without comment to the more normal form in the text given below. *Hamza* is generally omitted, especially when it follows a long vowel; e.g. سما for سماء. The omission of *hamza* leads to such a form as ثنائي for ثنائي (F. 58a). Such a word as عائشة always appears as عايشه. The dots on the *tā' marbūṭa* are almost always omitted. The final *yā'*, when representing the sound *ī* or *ai* sometimes has two dots, but more often not. In the text below they are supplied. In names like Ibn 'Abbās, the MS. omits the *alif* of "Ibn". Where there are two ways of spelling a word, e.g. زكوة and زكاة, the form used in the MS. is given. Finally it should be noted that there are some erasures which are indicated by a stroke through part of the word to be erased. Such words are omitted without comment.



#### IV

#### DHAMM AL-MALĀHĪ : TRANSLATION

THE book of the censure of instruments of diversion <sup>1</sup> by F. 52b.  
Ibn abi'l-Dunyā.

On the authority of Sahl ibn Sa'd <sup>2</sup> (Allāh be pleased with them both!), he said, Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "Among the last of my people there will be swallowing up, pelting, and metamorphosis." <sup>3</sup> It was said, "O, apostle of Allāh, when?" He said, "When the *ma'āzif* and the *qaināt* appear, and wine is considered lawful." The *ma'āzif* are musical instruments (*ālāt al-ṭarab*), <sup>4</sup> and the *qaināt* are the singing-girls. And as for the pelting, it is the throwing F. 53a.  
of stones [from the sky, just as they were sent on Lot's people, some on tribes and some on houses; and they will be sent on them] <sup>5</sup> (i.e. the people mentioned in the tradition).

On the authority of Abū Umāma <sup>6</sup> (Allāh be pleased with him!) on the authority of Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless

<sup>1</sup> References to this book usually speak of it as *The Censure of Musical Instruments*, but the word *malāhī*, while it came to be applied to musical instruments, has a wider meaning. It comes from the root *lahw* (diversion) and so means "pastimes", or "instruments of diversion". As a considerable part of Ibn abi'l-Dunyā's book is occupied with other amusements than music, he is obviously using the word in the wider sense.

<sup>2</sup> A Companion of the Prophet who handed down traditions. d. 88 (707) or 91 (710). See Al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmā'*, 306-7. Al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, index.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Al-Tirmidhī, *Fitān*, 21, and Ibn Māja, *Fitān*, 29, where "pelting" and "metamorphosis" are transposed.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, iii, 528, where it is pointed out that, while the word *ma'āzif* in its modern use means "musical instruments", in its earlier use it applied more particularly to stringed instruments. Here it is explained in a sense agreeing with the modern use.

<sup>5</sup> The words in square brackets are added in the margin followed by the sign *cor* to denote a correction.

<sup>6</sup> A traditionist. d. 81 (700). Al-Nawawī, op. cit., pp. 651-2. Ibn Sa'd, v, 59-60. Al-Nawawī says that he related 250 traditions of which Al-Bukhārī quoted five and Muslim three.

him, etc.), he said, "Some of this people will spend the night in food, drink, and diversion (*lahw*), then in the morning they will have been metamorphosed into apes and swine<sup>1</sup>; and swallowing up and pelting will smite them, so that in the morning people will say, 'So and so's house was swallowed up last night.' 'The Banū so and so were swallowed up last night.' And Allāh will send on them 'the desolating wind'<sup>2</sup> which destroyed 'Ād for their drinking wine, their devouring usury, their having singing-girls, their wearing silk, and their breach of kinship."

And on the authority of 'Ā'isha<sup>3</sup> (Allāh be pleased with her!), she said, Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "Among my people there will be swallowing up, pelting, and metamorphosis." 'Ā'isha said, "O apostle of Allāh, while they say, 'There is no god but Allāh'?" He said, "When singing-girls appear, and immorality, drinking of wine, and wearing of silk appear, this will take place among us."

On the authority of 'Alī<sup>4</sup> (Allāh be pleased with him!), he said, Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "When my people do fifteen things [lit. characteristics], that affliction will alight upon them." It was said, "O, apostle of Allāh, and what are they?" He said, "When the booty is in turns, F. 53b. and the deposit is booty, and the legal alms is a debt,<sup>5</sup> and a man obeys his wife, and is undutiful to his mother, and is kind to his friend, and repulses his father, and the voices are raised in the mosques, and the leader of the people is the most ignoble of them, and a man is honoured for fear of his evil, and wine is drunk, and silk is worn, and singing-girls, and stringed instruments (*ma'āzif*) are employed, and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Qur. v, 65, for the idea of such metamorphosis. A similar tradition occurs in Ibn Māja, ii, 254.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Qur. ii, 41.

<sup>3</sup> Wife of the Prophet. d. 58 (678). See *Enc. of Islām*, i, 216-17.

<sup>4</sup> Son-in-law of the Prophet and fourth Caliph. d. 40 (661). See *Enc. of Islām*, i, 283-5. The tradition which follows is given, with a number of verbal changes, by Al-Tirmidhī, *Fitan*, 38.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Qur. ix, 99.

the last of this people curses the first of it, then at that time let them expect three [afflictions], a destructive wind, being swallowed up, and metamorphosis."

The shaikh<sup>1</sup> (Allāh have mercy on him!) said, I said, His saying 'When the booty is in turns': i.e. the princes and kings get hold of the spoils and control them successively among themselves, and do not divide them among the soldiery who took them. And 'The deposit is booty': i.e. the people, because of their treachery, come to reckon the riches with which they are entrusted as spoil which they seize. One is entrusted with a deposit, or made an executor, or appointed to a guardianship. The trusty one dislikes such a thing, because his soul has distress in it; but the faithless one likes it, because he considers it a profit and a booty which has sped to him. 'And the legal alms is a debt': i.e. the rich people of that time have no intention in the seeking of reward when they produce the legal alms on their goods, and they produce them only by compulsion on the part of the sultān, or out of hypocrisy before men<sup>2</sup>; so they reckon its expenditure a debt with which they are saddled, not a reward which they have sent before them. His saying, 'And is kind to his friend and repulses his father.' He blamed them only for kindness to their friends, but it was not out of relationship; it was out of love between them only in the life of this world. And if that kindness had been purely for the sake of Allāh, he would not have been repulsing his father. F. 54a

And on the authority of Abū Huraira<sup>3</sup> (Allāh be pleased with him!), he said, Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "In the last time some of this people will be metamorphosed into apes and swine." They said, "O, apostle of Allāh, they testify that there is no god but Allāh, and that Muḥammad is Allāh's apostle." He said, "Yes, indeed, and

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the author.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Qur. ii, 266; iv, 42.

<sup>3</sup> One of the most frequently quoted authorities for traditions. d. 57 or 58 (676-8). See *Enc. of Islām*, i, 93-4.

they fast, pray, and perform the pilgrimage." They said, "Then what is the matter with them?" He said, "They have employed stringed instruments, tambourines (*dufuf*), and singing-girls, and spent the night at their drinking and their diversion, so in the morning they will have been metamorphosed into apes and swine."<sup>1</sup>

And on the authority of Ṣāliḥ ibn Khālid<sup>2</sup> who traced that back to the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.), he was saying, "Some of my people will consider silk, wine, and stringed instruments lawful; and Allāh will come with a mountain upon people of them who are present until He casts it upon them, and others will be metamorphosed into apes and swine."

F. 54b. And on the authority of Jubair ibn Nufair,<sup>3</sup> he said, Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "Verily the earth will be difficult for its people, so that there will be on its surface neither townspeople nor nomads, and the last of this people will be afflicted with trembling. Then if they repent, Allāh will forgive them; but if they return, Allāh will turn against them with trembling, pelting, metamorphosis, and thunderbolts."

His saying, "The earth will be difficult for its people": i.e. the earth, on account of the violence of the earthquakes and the abundance of the terrors, will remain like the back of an intractable camel on which neither rider nor load can settle without its throwing it off, so that there will not be on its surface people of a house who are united, whose affair is in order, without their being scattered and separated by being killed and taken prisoner and by oppression and being smitten and such like of the things which separate companies and empty camps. And he who considers this time of ours

<sup>1</sup> For a tradition resembling this in some respects, but on different authority, see Al-Bukhārī, *Ashribā*, 6.

<sup>2</sup> I have found no reference to this man. He may possibly have been a son of Khālid ibn al-Walid (d. 21/641-2).

<sup>3</sup> He was Jubair ibn Nufair al-Ḥaḍramī, who became a Muslim during the Caliphate of Abū Bakr, and was quoted as an authority on tradition. d. 80 (699).

will find that this has become abundant among this its people.

On the authority of Ṣuḥār,<sup>1</sup> he said, Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "The last hour will not come before some tribes are swallowed up, and it is said they are of the Banū so and so."

And Abū Huraira (Allāh be pleased with him!) used to say, "The last hour will not come before two men go to a matter which they are undertaking and one of them is metamorphosed into an ape or a swine; and the one of them who escaped what he saw happen to his companion will not be prevented from going to that affair of his so as to accomplish his desire respecting it; or before two men go to a matter and engage in it and one of them is swallowed up, and the one of them who escaped what he saw happen to his companion will not be prevented from going to that affair of his so as to accomplish his desire respecting it."<sup>2</sup> F. 55a.

And Mālik ibn Dīnār<sup>3</sup> said, "I have heard that there will be a violent wind in the last time, so people will flee to their learned ones and find that they have been metamorphosed."

On the authority of Abū Umāma, he said, Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "Allāh has forbidden the singing-girl and selling her and her price and teaching her and listening to her."<sup>4</sup> Then he recited His saying (exalted is He) "Among

<sup>1</sup> The *Fihrist* (Cairo ed.), p. 132, calls him Ṣuḥār ibn al-'Abbās al-'Abdī, and says he was a genealogist and preacher in the time of Mu'āwiya ibn abī Sufyān (first Umayyad Caliph, d. 60/680). He related a few traditions on the authority of the Prophet, and wrote *Kitāb al-amthāl* (Book of Proverbs). Ibn Sa'd, v, 409-410; vii, i, 61-2, state merely that the Prophet told him wine was forbidden.

<sup>2</sup> Reminiscent of Matthew xxiv, 40; Luke xvii, 34-6.

<sup>3</sup> Mālik ibn Dīnār (d. 131/749) was an authority on tradition who did not relate many traditions. He was noted for his learning, asceticism, and piety. Ibn Sa'd, vii, ii, 11; Ibn Khallikān (De Slane), ii, 549-551.

<sup>4</sup> Al-Ghazālī *JRAS.* (1901), 244-5, quotes this tradition on the authority of 'Ā'isha, and says that it applies to singing-girls who sing where there is drinking, and to strange women who sing to men of dissolute life; but not to a girl who sings to her master, or who sings in circumstances where there is no temptation. He adds that the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* speak of the Prophet

men are those who buy sportive talk".<sup>1</sup> Then he said, "By Allāh, it is singing and things like that."

And Ibn Mas'ūd<sup>2</sup> said. "Singing makes hypocrisy grow in the heart as water makes the seed grow."<sup>3</sup> And from him, he said, Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "Singing makes hypocrisy grow in the heart as water makes vegetables grow."<sup>4</sup>

And on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās<sup>5</sup> (Allāh be pleased with him!) concerning His saying (exalted is He), "And you are amusing yourselves,"<sup>6</sup> he said, "It is singing in the Ḥimyarite language: *usmud lanā* means 'sing to us'." He means that it was the language of Ḥimyar of the people of Al-Yaman. When they ordered the singer to sing to them,

F. 55b. they said *usmud lanā*.

listening to the singing of two girls in 'Ā'isha's house (cf. Al-Bukhārī, *Idāim*, 2). Al-Nābulusī (op. cit., p. 41) makes the same quotation and adds that those who prohibit all singing-girls are guilty of finding fault with the Prophet.

<sup>1</sup> Qur. xxxi, 5. The quotation should be extended, as the verse adds "to lead astray from Allāh's path". Al-Ghazālī (op. cit., 245), in dealing with this verse, says that all singing is not an exchange for religion.

<sup>2</sup> One of the first converts to Islām and one of those to whom the Prophet promised Paradise. d. 32 or 33 (652-4). He was a traditionist and an authority on the Qur'ān. See *Enc. of Islām*, ii, 403-4.

<sup>3</sup> Al-Ghazālī (op. cit., pp. 248-9) and Al-Nābulusī (op. cit., p. 41) mention this tradition. Al-Ghazālī says that hypocrisy grows in the singer and not in the listener. Certain lawful practices produce hypocrisy, such as the wearing of adornments, but that does not make them unlawful. Therefore this tradition cannot mean that singing is unlawful.

<sup>4</sup> Al-Ghazālī (op. cit., p. 248) says that this form of the tradition is not sound.

<sup>5</sup> 'Abdallāh ibn al-'Abbās, a cousin of the Prophet. He was an authority on tradition, jurisprudence, and the Qur'ān. d. 69 or 70 (688-690). See *Enc. of Islām*, i, 19-20.

<sup>6</sup> Qur. liii, 61. Al-Baiḍāwī, in his commentary on this verse, says that *samidūna* either means that they are proud, because the verb *samada* is used of a camel walking with its head up; or that they are singing to keep people from listening to Allāh's message, because *sumūd* means "singing".

Al-Ghazālī (op. cit., 245-6) argues that if this verse condemns singing, it also condemns laughter and lack of weeping. If it is said that it condemns laughter against Muslims, it may be replied that this is the only kind of singing it condemns. Cf. Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, p. 15.

And Ibn Mas'ūd said, "When a man rides a beast without mentioning Allāh (exalted is He), the devil rides behind him. He says to him, 'Sing'; then if he does not do it well, he says to him, 'Do obeisance.'"

On the authority of Abū Umāma (Allāh be pleased with him!) that the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "No one raises his voice in song without Allāh sending him two devils who sit on his shoulders, kicking his breast with their heels till he stops."<sup>1</sup>

And Ibn 'Umar<sup>2</sup> passed some people in pilgrim garb among whom was a man who was singing, and said, "O may Allāh not listen to you! O may Allāh not listen to you!" And he passed a young girl who was singing and said, "If He abandoned anyone, He would abandon this girl."

A man asked Al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad<sup>3</sup> about singing and he said, "I forbid you from it and make it abhorrent to you." He said, "Is it unlawful?" He said, "Look, O son of my brother; when Allāh distinguishes the truth from what is vain, in which of them will He put singing?"<sup>4</sup>

Al-Sha'bī<sup>5</sup> said, "Allāh curse the singer and the one who is sung to!"

It is said that there was a man who spent much time in

<sup>1</sup> Al-Nābulusī (op. cit., 41) mentions this tradition in speaking of the arguments adduced by opponents of music.

<sup>2</sup> 'Abdallāh ibn 'Umar, son of the second Caliph. He was a Companion of the Prophet, and a trustworthy authority on tradition. d. 73 (693). See *Enc. of Islām*, i, 28-9. Add to the references given there Ibn Sa'd, iv, i, 105-138.

<sup>3</sup> A grandson of Abū Bakr, the first Caliph. He was one of the most eminent of the Followers and was reckoned among the seven great jurists of Al-Madīna. Mālik said that he was one of the great jurisconsults of the Muslims. d. 101 or 102 (719-721), or 108 (726-7), or 112 (730-1). Ibn Sa'd, v, 139-143. Ibn Khallikān (De Slane), ii, 485-6.

<sup>4</sup> Al-Qushairī, *Risāla*, 179, tells how Ibn Juraij (d. between 149 and 151/766-8) was asked a similar question, and replied that his listening to music would be placed neither among his good deeds nor his evil deeds, meaning that it was one of the things which are permitted.

<sup>5</sup> Abū 'Amr 'Āmir ibn Sharāḥil ibn 'Amr al-Sha'bī. He was a trustworthy authority on tradition. The imām Abū Ḥanīfa was among his pupils. d. not later than 110 (728). See *Enc. of Islām*, iv, 242-3.

the mosque, then abandoned it and took a singing-girl with whom he amused himself to the neglect of the mosque. Then one of his brethren wrote to him, saying, "Consider, my brother, from what you have gone out and into what you have entered, towards whom you have turned and who has turned towards you, and from whom you have turned away and who has turned away from you. For if you consider well, you will know that you have gone out from the light and entered the darkness, and have turned away from Allāh and Allāh has turned away from you."

F. 56a.

'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Azīz<sup>1</sup> wrote to his sons' tutor, "Take the course prescribed by harshness, for it is more of a protection for their advancement; and by abandoning morning sleep (*ṣabḥa*), for its practice acquires negligence; and by scantiness of laughter, for abundance of it slays the heart.<sup>2</sup> And let the first thing which they acquire from your training be the hatred of instruments of diversion, whose origin is from the devil and whose outcome is the anger of the Merciful. For I have heard from the authorities, viz. the learned, that having recourse to stringed instruments and listening to songs and devotion to them both [i.e. the practices just mentioned] produces hypocrisy in the heart as water produces herbage. And let each boy of them begin with a portion<sup>3</sup> (*juz'*) of the Qur'ān [and] let him be established in reciting it. Then when he has finished it he may take his arrows and his bow and go out bareshod to the target and shoot seven arrows. Then he may go for the siesta, for Ibn Mas'ūd used to say, 'My sons, take a siesta, for the devils do not take a siesta.'"<sup>4</sup> His saying *al-ṣabḥa*, from which he forbade them, is sleeping after daybreak.

<sup>1</sup> An Umayyad Caliph noted for his piety. d. 101 (720).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ibn Māja, *Zuhd*, 19; *Al-'iqd al-farīd*, ii, 130.

<sup>3</sup> The Qur'ān is divided into thirty portions, each of which is called a *juz'*. This provides a daily portion for people who wish to read the whole Qur'ān in a month. But here the word is most probably used in a general sense.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Qūt al-qulūb*, i, 61.



Yazīd ibn al-Walīd<sup>1</sup> said, "O, Umayyads, avoid singing, F. 56b. for it decreases shame, increases desire, and destroys manliness, and verily it takes the place of wine and does what drunkenness does. But if you must engage in it, keep the women and children away from it, for singing is the instigator of fornication."

Al-Fuḍail ibn 'Iyād<sup>2</sup> said, "Singing is the amulet of fornication."

Rāfi' ibn Ḥafṣ al-Madanī<sup>3</sup> said, "There are four on whom Allāh will not look on the Day of Resurrection, the sorceress, the wailing-woman, the singing-woman, and the woman who is unfaithful to her husband. Prolonged grief is most fitting for him who reaches that time."

'Alī ibn al-Ḥusain<sup>4</sup> said, "A handmaid in whom is the *barbat*," meaning playing on the lute,<sup>5</sup> "is not declared pure."

On the authority of Zaid ibn 'Alī,<sup>6</sup> he said, A man said, "O, apostle of Allāh, when is the [last] hour?" Then Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) rebuked him until [when] he prayed the dawn prayer, he lifted his head to the sky and said, "Blessed is Allāh, its Creator, and its Raiser, and its Changer, and its Folder 'like the folding of the scroll of the book'." <sup>7</sup>

Then he said, "Where is he who asked about the [last] hour?" He said: Then a man at the back of the people

<sup>1</sup> An Umayyad Caliph. d. 126 (744). Cf. Farmer, op. cit., 65.

<sup>2</sup> A trustworthy transmitter of traditions. He was born in *Khurāsān* and retired latterly to Makka to devote himself to a religious life. d. 187 (803). See *Enc. of Islām*, ii, 117; *Al-Ghazālī*, op. cit., 248 n.

<sup>3</sup> I have found no reference to this man elsewhere.

<sup>4</sup> Zain al-'Ābidīn, the fourth of the *Shī'a* imāms. d. 92 or 94 (710-13). See *Enc. of Islām*, i, 288.

<sup>5</sup> This is clearly a wrong interpretation of the meaning of *barbat*. The *barbat* is the Persian lute. See *Enc. of Islām*, iv, 985.

<sup>6</sup> Son of Zain al-'Ābidīn. d. 125 or 126 (743-4). See *Enc. of Islām*, iv, 1193-4.

<sup>7</sup> Qur. xxi, 104.

knelt on his knees, and lo, he was 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb.<sup>1</sup> Then Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "That will be when the leaders (*imāms*) are unjust and [Allāh's] decree is declared false, and owing to faith in the stars, and in a people who take a deposit as booty and the legal alms as a debt<sup>2</sup> and immorality as increase (*ziyāda*)."<sup>3</sup> Then he [i.e. 'Umar] asserted that he had asked him about it, so he said, "[There will be] two men of the profligate people one of whom will prepare food and drink for his companion and will come to him with jesting and say, 'Do for me as I have done for you'. Then they will visit one another for that." Thereupon he said, "My people have perished, O Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb."

And from him (Allāh bless him, etc.) that he said when a man questioned him, saying, "O, apostle of Allāh, do you forbid us to weep when you weep?" He said, "I forbade you only two foolish, wicked sounds—[a sound] in a tune of diversion and sport and devil's pipes; and a sound in affliction and scratching of faces and rending of breasts and devil's moaning."

Al-Ḥasan<sup>3</sup> (Allāh have mercy on him!) said, "Two sounds are accursed, a pipe in a tune and moaning in affliction." And he said, "And Allāh mentioned the believers and said, And 'in their property there is an appointed portion for him who begs and for him who is prevented [from begging]'<sup>4</sup>; but you have set in your property an appointed portion for the woman who sings to a tune and the woman who wails in affliction."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The second Caliph. d. 23 (644).

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Māja, *Zakāt*, 8, gives a tradition which says that one who pays the *zakāt* (legal alms) should pray, "O Allāh, make it a booty and not a debt."

<sup>3</sup> Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, the famous ascetic. d. 110 (728). See *Enc. of Islām*, ii, 273.

<sup>4</sup> Qur. lxx, 24-5.

<sup>5</sup> See Introduction, p. 2 f. Wailing is condemned, but weeping is lawful. Cf. Al-Tayālīsī, 1221.

Ḥudhaifa<sup>1</sup> was relating on the authority of Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.), "Let not the man imitate the woman in her clothing, and let not the woman imitate the man in his clothing."<sup>2</sup> He said, "You send out the women in men's clothes, and you send out the men in women's clothes. There is no innocence, no piety, no zeal, and no shame." He said, "And one dies, then they bring a hired maid who captivates their living ones in their houses and injures their dead ones in their graves, preventing them from their reward in the next world on account of her reward which they give her in the present world."<sup>3</sup> And lo, the wailing-woman may say, 'O man, I command you to do what Allāh has forbidden you, and I forbid you what Allāh has commanded you to do. O, verily Allāh has commanded you to have endurance, and I forbid you to have endurance. O, verily, Allāh has forbidden you to be vexed, and I command you to be vexed.'"<sup>4</sup>

On the authority of Nāfi',<sup>4</sup> he said, "I was going along a road with 'Abdallāh ibn 'Umar,<sup>5</sup> when he heard a shepherd's reed-pipe (*zammāra*).<sup>6</sup> So he put his fingers in his ears, then turned aside from the road, and kept saying, 'O, Nāfi', can you hear it?' I said, 'No,' so he took his fingers out

<sup>1</sup> Ḥudhaifa fought at the battle of Uhud (3/625). 'Umar made him governor of Madā'in where he died in 36 (656-7). Ibn Sa'd, vi, 8; also v, 385; vii, ii, 64; Ibn Khallikān (De Slane), iii, 508.

<sup>2</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Libās*, 61; Abū Dāwud, *Libās*, 28; Al-Tirmidhī, *Adab*, 34; and Ibn Māja, *Nikāḥ*, 22, say that the Prophet cursed women who imitated men and men who imitated women.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Al-Bukhārī, *Janā'iz*, 33; Abū Dāwud, *Janā'iz*, 25; Al-Nasā'i, iv, 15, where it is said that the dead are punished when their people weep over them.

<sup>4</sup> A freedman of 'Abdallāh ibn 'Umar, most of whose traditions are handed down through Nāfi'. The latter had a high reputation for exactness. Ibn Khallikān (De Slane), iii, 521-2.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 25, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Al-Ghazālī, op. cit., 248-250, in referring to this story, uses *mizmār*. For the *zammāra* and the modern *zummāra*, which is a double-reed pipe, see *Enc. of Islām*, iii, 541; Farmer, *Studies in Oriental Mus. Instrs.*, i, 77-9.

of his ears, then returned to the road and said, 'Thus I saw Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) do.'"<sup>1</sup>

Anas<sup>2</sup> (Allāh be pleased with him!) said, "The worst earnings are the earnings of the reed-pipe."<sup>3</sup>

F. 58a. On the authority of [Abū] Umāma<sup>4</sup> (Allāh be pleased with him!), he said, Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "Allāh sent me as a blessing and guidance to all creatures. He sent me to annihilate the stringed instruments and the reed-pipes (*mazāmīr*) and to destroy the *jāhiliyya*<sup>5</sup> and the idols. And my Lord swore by His might, No one will drink wine in this world, but He will give him a like quantity in the worst [part] of hell on the Day of Resurrection. And no one will leave it alone in this world, but He will give him it to drink in the holy precincts until his soul is satisfied."

And from Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadir,<sup>6</sup> that he said, "When the Day of Resurrection comes, He will keep calling, Where are those who kept themselves away from diversion and the devil's reed-pipes? Make them dwell in the garden of musk. Then He will say to the angels, Let them hear praise and laud of me, and inform them that 'there is no fear upon them and they will not grieve'."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Abū Dāwud, *Adab*, 52, gives a form of this tradition, but adds a note that it was said to belong to one of the weak categories (*munkar*). Ibn Māja, *Nikāḥ*, 22, has a tradition on the authority of Mujāhid which tells of Ibn 'Umar putting his fingers in his ears when he heard a drum playing and saying the Prophet had done the same. Al-Ghazālī, *op. cit.*, 248-250, speaks of the tradition given in the text and argues that it does not condemn the shepherd's pipe, as the Prophet possibly put his fingers in his ears to keep his thoughts from being interrupted. Al-Nābulusī, *op. cit.*, 40, uses the same argument.

<sup>2</sup> Anas ibn Mālik. He had been a servant of the Prophet. Many traditions have been handed down on his authority, but he was not regarded as very reliable. d. between 91 and 93 (709-712). See *Enc. of Islām*, i, 345.

<sup>3</sup> Lane, *Lexicon*, 1250, translates *zammāra* as "fornicatress", or "female singer".

<sup>4</sup> See p. 19, n. 6.

<sup>5</sup> This term is used of the pre-Islāmic period.

<sup>6</sup> An eminent Qur'ān-reader and traditionist. The imām Mālik was one of his pupils. d. 131 (748-9). Ibn Khallikān (*De Slane*), ii, 119 n.

<sup>7</sup> Qur. ii, 36, 59, etc.

On the authority of Mujāhid<sup>1</sup> concerning the saying of Allāh (exalted is He), "And excite those of them whom you can with your voice"<sup>2</sup>; he said, "The reed-pipe." "And charge them with your horse and with your foot"<sup>2</sup>; he said, "Every rider who has ridden in disobedience to Allāh is among the cavalry of Iblis, and every foot which has run in disobedience to Allāh is among the footmen of Iblis."

On the authority of Ibn 'Abbās,<sup>3</sup> on the authority of the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.), he said, "Allāh has forbidden you wine, *al-maisir*,<sup>4</sup> and the *kūba*, which is the drum (*tabl*)."<sup>5</sup> And he said, "Every intoxicant is forbidden."<sup>6</sup> F. 586.

On the authority of Qais ibn Sa'id,<sup>7</sup> that Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "My Lord forbade me wine, *al-maisir*, the *qinnn*, and the *kūba*." *Al-maisir* is gambling; the *qinnn* is the lute ('*ūd*),<sup>8</sup> and it is said the *qinnn* is one of the playthings used in gambling; and the *kūba* is the drum (*tabl*), and it is said it is the lute ('*ūd*) and backgammon (*nard*).

Suwaid ibn Ghafala<sup>9</sup> said, "The angels do not enter a house in which is a tambourine (*duff*)."

<sup>1</sup> Mujāhid ibn Jabr. An authority on tradition. d. in Makka between 102 and 104 (720-3). Ibn Sa'd, v, 343-4.

<sup>2</sup> Qur., xvii, 66.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 24, n. 5.

<sup>4</sup> A game of the pre-Islāmic Arabs which was prohibited by Muḥammad. Lots were cast by means of arrows for portions of a camel. Later *al-maisir* came to be used as synonymous with gambling (cf. p. 36). See *Enc. of Islām*, iii, 155-6.

<sup>5</sup> See Introduction, p. 3, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Al-Nasā'ī, viii, 296; Ibn Māja, ii, 173.

<sup>7</sup> The MS. gives Qais ibn Sa'id, but I have found no reference to such a person. It may possibly be an error for Qais ibn Sa'd, who was made governor of Egypt by 'Alī in 37 (657-8). He later acknowledged Mu'āwīya, 'Alī's rival, and returned to Al-Madīna, where he died in 59 (678-9). Ibn Sa'd, v, 355; vi, 34; Ibn Khall. (De Slane), i, 622 n.

<sup>8</sup> Dr. H. G. Farmer has drawn my attention to the fact that Al-Fīrūzābādī says it is the pandore (*tanbūr*).

<sup>9</sup> Suwaid became a Muslim in the lifetime of the Prophet, but never saw him, as he came to Al-Madīna on the day the Prophet died. He is therefore reckoned a Follower (*Tābi'i*). He took part in several famous battles and is quoted as a traditionalist. He died at a great age in 81 or 82 (700-2). Al-Nawawī, op. cit., 309-310; Ibn Sa'd, vi, 45.

Al-Ḥasan <sup>1</sup> said, "The tambourine does not pertain at all to the practice of the Muslims."

ʿĀsim ibn Hubaira <sup>2</sup> used not to see a tambourine without breaking it. Then when he was old he took a tambourine and began to trample on it with his feet, but it did not break. So he said, "Not one of their devils has overcome me but this." <sup>3</sup>

Ibrāhīm <sup>4</sup> said, "They were seizing the openings of the streets, tearing up the tambourines which the girls had." He means Ibn Masʿūd's <sup>5</sup> companions. They were standing at the ends of the streets to remove this forbidden thing.

On the authority of Buraida <sup>6</sup> (Allāh be pleased with him!), that the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "He who plays backgammon (*nardashīr*) has disobeyed Allāh and His apostle." <sup>7</sup> And on his authority that he heard Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) saying, "No one turns over its dice expecting what they will produce without disobeying Allāh and His apostle"; meaning one who plays with the dice of backgammon when he throws them waiting for what will issue to him from them of victory and success, for that is the gambler, and the gambler is a profligate.

F. 59a.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 23, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> The only reference I have found to ʿĀsim is in Al-Tabarī, *Annales*, ii, 1804, where he is spoken of in connection with Yazīd's rebellion against Al-Walīd in 126 (744).

<sup>3</sup> The breaking of musical instruments is considered by some to be quite legal. Cf. Introduction, p. 3. Al-Bukhārī, *Mazālim*, 32, says that Shuraih came on a pandore which had been broken, but gave no judgment regarding it.

<sup>4</sup> Ibrāhīm ibn Adham, a famous ascetic. d. between 160 and 166 (776-783). See *Enc. of Islām*, ii, 432-4.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 24, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Buraida accepted Islām on meeting Muḥammad during his migration (*hijra*) from Makka to Al-Madīna. At the conquest of Makka he had a standard. He afterwards went to Al-Baṣra. Later he went to Khurāsān and died in Marw in 63 (682-3). Add to the references in *Enc. of Islām*, i, 793, Ibn Sa'd, vii, i, 3, 4; vii, ii, 99 f.

<sup>7</sup> Abū Dāwud, *Adab*, 56, and Ibn Māja, *Adab*, 42, give this tradition on the authority of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, except that *nard* (backgammon) is used in place of *nardashīr*.

From him (Allāh bless him, etc.) that he said, "The similitude of him who plays backgammon (*nard*), then rises and prays, verily Allāh does not accept his prayer, and his similitude is like that of him who performs his ablution with pus and swine's blood."<sup>1</sup>

From him (Allāh bless him, etc.) that he said, "Fear these two marked (*mashūmatain*) games which draw omens, for they belong to the *maisir* of the Persians." He called them *al-mashūmatain* simply on account of the black spots which are in them, for they are in them like tattooing.<sup>2</sup> And his phrase 'which draw omens', i.e. they bring forth the lot without right or principle, and it comes only by chance, just as the one who draws omens from birds does. He is the one who takes the omen from their voices and is correct and wrong without right or principle.

Ibn 'Umar<sup>3</sup> said, "He who gambles at backgammon is like him who anoints himself with swine's *wadak*," meaning its grease.

From Yahyā ibn [abī] Kuthaiyir,<sup>4</sup> that he came upon some people playing at backgammon and said, "Neglectful hearts, busy hands, and deceiving tongues."

'Abdallāh ibn Nāfi'<sup>5</sup> was questioned about chess and backgammon and said, "I have never come across one of our learned ones who has not disliked them both." Mālik<sup>6</sup> used

<sup>1</sup> Muslim, v, 74-5; Abū Dāwud, *Adab*, 56; and Ibn Māja, *Adab*, 42, give the following on the authority of Buraida, "He who plays backgammon (*nardashīr*) is as though he had plunged his hand into swine's flesh and blood."

<sup>2</sup> The text has *mashūmatain* (marked), and Ibn abī'l-Dunyā explains it thus; but the latter part of his explanation might suggest that the reading should be *mashūmatain* (ill-omened).

<sup>3</sup> See p. 25, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn Sa'd, v, 404, gives the name as Yahyā ibn abī Kuthaiyir. He was a freedman of Ṭai'. d. 129 (746-7).

<sup>5</sup> 'Abdallāh ibn Nāfi' was devoted to Mālik ibn Anas. He died in Al-Madīna in 206 (821-2). Ibn Sa'd, v, 324-5.

<sup>6</sup> The imām Mālik ibn Anas. d. 179 (795-6). See *Enc. of Islām*, iii, 205 ff.

to say the same thing. He was questioned about their testimony, and said, "Their testimony is not accepted, and there is no honour that one should be hiding that and not making it public." Thus Mālik used to say, and similarly about F. 596. chess. What he said about singing was, "Testimony is not accepted on account of it."<sup>1</sup>

From 'Alī<sup>2</sup> (Allāh be pleased with him!) that he came upon some people who were playing chess and said, "What are these figures about which you are zealous?<sup>3</sup> If one of you touches live coals till they are extinguished, it will be better for him than that he should touch them."

Abū Ja'far<sup>4</sup> was questioned about chess and said, "Let us have nothing to do with this Magianism."

Ibrāhīm<sup>5</sup> was asked, "What do you say about the pieces (*lu'ab*) in chess?" Then he said, "They are accursed."

A Syrian saw in his sleep that every believer and Muslim is forgiven twelve times every day except the companions of the *Shāh*, meaning chess.

Mālik said, "Chess pertains to backgammon."

We heard concerning Ibn 'Abbās<sup>6</sup> that he was put in charge of an orphan's property and found them [i.e. chess pieces] and destroyed<sup>7</sup> them.

<sup>1</sup> *Aghānī*, iv, 39, suggests that Mālik was better disposed to singing than this passage suggests. One day, on hearing a passer-by making a mistake in a song, he put his head out of the window and corrected him. But he refused to repeat the correction lest the man should announce that he had learned it from him. This may indicate that his personal inclinations were different from his official declarations. It is said in the same place that in youth he had wished to be a singer, but his mother advised him to take up *fiqh* (jurisprudence) instead, on the ground that, with his ugly face, he would never be a successful singer, whereas an ugly face was no hindrance to a jurist's success. With regard to backgammon and chess see Introduction, p. 12, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 20, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Qur. xxi, 53.

<sup>4</sup> Al-Anṣārī. He was an authority on tradition. He died during the Caliphate of the last Umayyad Caliph, Marwān ibn Muḥammad (127-132/744-750). *Ibn Coteiba's Handbuch der Gesch.*, p. 262; Ibn Sa'd, v, 4.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 32, n. 4.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 24, n. 5.

<sup>7</sup> ? Burned.



Ibn 'Umar<sup>1</sup> was questioned about chess and said, "It is worse than backgammon from two points of view. One of them is that the heart is not occupied in backgammon with prolonged thought as in chess, for it [chess] requires prolonged thought and leads to waste of time. The second is that there is not so much quarrelling among players of backgammon as among players of chess,<sup>2</sup> for their idle talk about it is abundant and their disputing about it is violent. And further, people's inclination for chess is stronger and their occupation with it is greater. So on this account he said it is worse than backgammon. And he knew that the statute about the prohibition of backgammon is sound and the general agreement (*ijmā'*) about it united, contrary to chess, for it (backgammon) is much easier. F. 60a.

Aiyūb<sup>3</sup> saw some people playing chess and said, Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadir<sup>4</sup> told us, he said, "He who plays backgammon has disobeyed Allāh and His apostle." Someone said to him, "This is not backgammon." He said, "Backgammon and chess are alike."

On the authority of Ṣāliḥ ibn al-Khalīl<sup>5</sup> that Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) ordered see-saws<sup>6</sup> (*marājīḥ*) to be suppressed. When Abū Burda<sup>7</sup> saw any of his people

<sup>1</sup> See p. 25, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Whether or not this was the general rule, we learn from *Agh.*, v, 89, that a serious quarrel could also arise over backgammon. There it says that Al-Faḍl ibn al-Rabī' (d. 208/823-4) became so angry with Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm that he refused to admit him to his presence.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn abī Tamīm. He met a number of famous men, including Ibn al-Munkadir whom he quotes here. He was a reliable authority for tradition. d. 131 (748-9). Al-Nawawī, op. cit., 170-1.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 30, n. 6.

<sup>5</sup> This may have been a son of Al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad (d. between 170 and 175/786 and 791).

<sup>6</sup> Abū Dāwud, *Adab*, 55, quotes traditions about 'Ā'ishā amusing herself on a swing (*urjūha*) without any suggestion of disapproval. This word is from the same root as *marjūha*, and the two are said to refer to the same thing. Cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, 1035.

<sup>7</sup> There were two men called Abū Burda in the early days of Islām, either of whom might be the one mentioned here. One was Hānī' ibn 'Amr ibn 'Ubaid, who was a transmitter of traditions, and died in 45 (665-6)

and his children playing on see-saws, he beat them and broke the see-saws.

On the authority of 'Aṭā',<sup>1</sup> Ṭāwus,<sup>2</sup> and Mujāhid,<sup>3</sup> they said, "Everything which has to do with gambling pertains to *al-maisir*, even the play of children with dice and walnuts."<sup>4</sup>

Ibn Sirīn<sup>5</sup> said, "Whatever thing there is in which there is gambling, or shouting, or evil, it pertains to *al-maisir*."<sup>6</sup>

Al-Ḥasan<sup>7</sup> was asked about fragments of eggs. He said, "It is not sound". And concerning him [it is reported] that he was giving children permission to gamble with eggs,<sup>8</sup>

or 42 (662-3). Al-Nawawī, op. cit., 653; *Ibn Coteiba*, op. cit., 135. The other was 'Amir ibn abi Mūsā. He succeeded Shuraiḥ as *qāḍī* of Al-Kūfa. d. between 103 and 107 (721-6). Ibn Sa'd, vi, 187; Ibn Khall. (De Slane), ii, 2-4; *Ibn Coteiba*, 136. It is possible that the man referred to is the latter.

<sup>1</sup> 'Aṭā' ibn abi Rabāḥ was a native of Al-Janad in Al-Yaman. He was a famous jurisconsult and authority on tradition. He became *muftī* in Makka. d. 114 or 115 (732-4). See *Enc. of Islām*, i, 504, for references.

<sup>2</sup> 'Abd al-Rahmān Ṭāwus ibn Kaisān al-Khantānī al-Hamdānī al-Yamanī. His real name is said to have been Zakwān. He was a freedman of Hamdān. He heard traditions from Ibn 'Abbās and Abū Huraira, and his authority was quoted by Mujāhid and 'Amr ibn Dīnār. He was eminent among the Followers (*ṭābi'īs*) and held high rank as a jurisconsult. He was called Ṭāwus (peacock) because he was the peacock (chief) of the Qur'ān-readers. Ibn Khall. says he died in 104 or 106 during the pilgrimage, and that the Caliph said the funeral prayers over him. Ibn Sa'd says he died at the pilgrimage in 106 and that the Caliph Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik was present at his funeral. If Hishām was Caliph at the time, the date must have been 106 (725), as Hishām became Caliph in 105. Ibn Sa'd, v, 391-5; Ibn Khall. (De Slane), i, 642-3.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 31, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Al-Jāhīz, *Kitāb al-hayawān*, ii, 106, quotes examples of approval given to children's games, even though they involved gambling. The only prohibition mentioned has to do with playing with dogs.

<sup>5</sup> b. 33 (653-4), d. 110 (728). He was an important traditionalist and a noted jurisconsult in Al-Baṣra. He was a friend of Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, but the friendship was broken. As secretary he served Anas ibn Mālik in Persia. Ibn Sirīn was noted for his piety, but this did not prevent him from dying in debt. Al-Ibshīhī, *Mustatraf*, ii, 295, indicates that he knew and was interested in chess. See *Enc. of Islām*, ii, 420-1, for references.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, iii, 155-6.

<sup>7</sup> Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.

<sup>8</sup> Al-Jāhīz, op. cit., ii, 106, says that Al-Ḥasan saw no harm in buying the eggs with which boys play. He had the same opinion regarding the walnuts with which they played.

but Ibn Sīrīn disliked it. Ibn al-Musaiyib <sup>1</sup> saw no harm in breaking the eggs with which children gamble. Similarly F. 60b. Al-Ḥasan gave permission concerning this only because he considered that children have no religious duties laid on them (*ghair mukallaḥīn*). So he considered there was no reason for forbidding them doing [it], contrary to adults, for their gambling is disobedience and what they acquire by it is forbidden.

On the authority of Abū Huraira <sup>2</sup> that Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) saw a man following a pigeon and said, "A devil following a she-devil." <sup>3</sup>

From Al-Mujāhid <sup>4</sup> concerning His saying (exalted is He), "You build on every height (*rī'*) a mark in sport." <sup>5</sup> He said "[It means] pigeon-houses." It is said that the amusements of Pharaoh's people were pigeons. Ibrāhīm <sup>6</sup> said, "He who plays with flying pigeons will not die before experiencing the taste of poverty." <sup>7</sup> And *Shuraih* <sup>8</sup> would not give shelter to a pigeon owner, or to his pigeons. <sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Abū Muḥammad Sa'īd ibn al-Musaiyib. His father's name was properly Al-Musaiyab, but Sa'īd pronounced it Al-Musaiyib. He was one of the seven great jurisconsults of Al-Madīna. He was noted for his piety and had a contempt for worldly goods. b. 15 or 16 (636-8), d. between 91 and 95 (709-714), or 105 (723-4). Ibn Sa'd, v, 88-106; Ibn *Khall*. (De Slane), i, 568-9.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 21, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Māja, *Adab.*, 43; Abū Dāwud, *Adab.*, 57.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 31, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Qur. xxvi, 128.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 32, n. 4.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 69.

<sup>8</sup> *Shuraih* was known as Al-Qāḍī. He was an eminent Follower who was appointed *qāḍī* of Al-Kūfa by 'Umar; a post which, except for a break of three years, he is said to have filled for seventy-five years! Ibn Sa'd, vi, 90-100; Ibn *Khall*. (De Slane), i, 619-622. The interesting information is given by Al-Nābulusī, op. cit., 54, that, in spite of his position, *Shuraih* used to compose tunes and listen to singing girls singing them.

<sup>9</sup> The *Hidāya* (iii, 376) objects to those who fly birds because they go on the roofs of houses and so see the women's quarters on neighbouring roofs. Cf. Al-Jāhīz, op. cit., iii, 58.

Sufyān<sup>1</sup> said, "We heard of a game with the *jalāhiq* and a game with pigeons. It is the doing of Lot's people."<sup>2</sup> The *jalāhiq* is the bow for clay bullets (*al-bunduq*), and the dislike of it is because it does not make the blood of the game flow, so its game is generally beaten to death.<sup>3</sup>

On the authority of Ibn 'Abbās<sup>4</sup> that the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "If one does what Lot's people did, the one who does it and the one to whom it is done shall be killed."<sup>5</sup>

Ibrāhīm said, "If there were one who might fittingly be stoned twice, he would be the sodomite (*al-lūṭī*)."<sup>6</sup> He means that if it were possible for one who had been stoned to come  
F. 61a. to life after his being killed with the stones, he would be the sodomite. If he were stoned and killed by stoning, then came to life, he would deserve to be stoned another time until he was killed. That is, his sin is too great for one stoning to be enough; contrary to the fornicator (*al-zānī*), for, as punishment and purification, stoning once is enough for him, while that is not enough for the sodomite.

Ibn 'Abbās was asked, "What is the punishment of the sodomite?" He said, "We show our standards in a village and he comes from it, then is followed with stones."<sup>6</sup>

Mujāhid said, "He who does that action," meaning the action of Lot's people, "though he were to wash with every drop that descended from the sky and every drop in the earth, would still be unclean."

<sup>1</sup> Sufyān al-Thaurī, a famous theologian, traditionist and ascetic. d. 161 (778). *Enc. of Islām*, iv, 500-2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 69.

<sup>3</sup> *Hidāya*, iv, 1147 condemns the practice on the same grounds. Al-Jāhiz, op. cit., iii, 58-9, gives examples of the two practices condemned by Sufyān mentioned together with disapproval.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 24, n. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Abū Dāwud, *Ḥudūd*, 28, and Ibn Māja, *Ḥudūd*, 12, give this tradition on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās with slight verbal changes.

<sup>6</sup> The standards of the troops must be meant here. The suggestion seems to be that, when he sees government troops coming, he tries to escape, as he knows that they will deal with him for his wickedness.

Al-Zuhri<sup>1</sup> said, "The sodomite is to be stoned whether or not he has preserved chastity for a year past."

On the authority of Wāthila ibn al-Asqa'.<sup>2</sup> He traced it [to the Prophet]. He said, "Among women with hanging breasts there are sodomites. It is said that they lay with one another in the time of Tubba',<sup>3</sup> and they were the people of *Al-Rass*.<sup>4</sup> They have seventy tunics of fire, vests of fire, and a crown of fire. Inform your women of this."

It was said to Muḥammad ibn 'Alī,<sup>5</sup> "Allāh punished the women of Lot's people for the action of their men." Then he said, "Allāh is more just than that. No, the men were satisfied with the men, and the women with the women."

On the authority of Ḥūbartha ibn Asmā'<sup>6</sup> on the authority F. 61b. of his uncle, he said, "I made the pilgrimage, and we alighted at a halt, and along with us was a woman. She slept and awoke, and a snake was coiled round her with its head joined to its tail in front of her. That terrified us, and we set out, it still being coiled round, nothing harming her, till we entered the stones of the *ḥaram*<sup>7</sup>; then it left her. We entered Makka, performed our rites, and departed till, when we were in the place where it coiled itself round her, she fell asleep and awoke, and the snake was coiled around her. Then the

<sup>1</sup> A celebrated jurisconsult and traditionist. d. 123 or 124 (740-2). He was such an assiduous student that his wife is said to have declared that his books annoyed her more than three other wives would. For details and references see *Enc. of Islām*, iv, 1239-1241.

<sup>2</sup> An Arab of Kināna who became a Muslim when Muḥammad was preparing for the expedition of Tabūk (9/630). He was one of the poor Muslims who lived on the veranda of the mosque in Al-Madīna (*ahl al-ṣuffa*). After Muḥammad's death he went to Syria, where he was noted for his hospitality. He died in Jerusalem in 83 or 85 (702 or 704). Ibn Sa'd, vii, ii, 129; Ibn Khall. (De Slane), iii, 439 n.

<sup>3</sup> A term applied in Arabic literature to the kings of the Ḥimyarites. For a suggestion on the origin of this word see *Enc. of Islām*, ii, 311.

<sup>4</sup> Qur. xxv, 40; i, 12.

<sup>5</sup> Ibn Sa'd, vi, 257, speaks of a Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Salmā, but all that is said is that his authority was quoted.

<sup>6</sup> I have found no reference to Ḥūbartha.

<sup>7</sup> The sacred area which includes Makka.

snake hissed, and lo, the *wādī* was flowing upon us with snakes. Then they bit her till she was left a skeleton. So we said to a servant girl of hers, "Woe to you, tell us about this woman." She said, "She committed fornication three times, each time giving birth to a child. Then when she had given birth to him, she heated the oven and threw him into it."

On the authority of 'Ikrima,<sup>1</sup> he said, "Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) cursed the house which the *mukhannath*<sup>2</sup> enters."

On the authority of 'Uthmān<sup>3</sup> (Allāh be pleased with him!), that he gave twenty lashes to a man who said to another, "O *mukhannath*."

Ṭāwus (Allāh have mercy on him!) was asked *de eo qui feminam per clunes ineat*,<sup>4</sup> and said, "That is unbelief. Lot's people perished simply for that. *Ad hunc modum viri cum viris, feminae cum feminis coierunt*."

<sup>1</sup> A Companion of the Prophet. 'Ikrima was killed at the battle of Ajnadain (13/634).

<sup>2</sup> The *mukhannaths* were hermaphrodites, and had an unpleasant reputation. Al-Bukhārī, *Hudūd*, 33, says the Prophet cursed the men who were *mukhannathūna* and the women who imitated men. Some references are given by Farmer, *Hist. of Arab. Music*, 45 n.

<sup>3</sup> The third Caliph. Murdered 35 (656).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Abū Dāwud, *Nikāh*, 45.

[F. 52b.] كتاب ذمّ الملاهي لابن أبي الدنيا.

عن سهل بن سعد<sup>1</sup> رضي الله عنهما قال قال رسول الله  
صلّى الله عليه وسلّم يكون في آخر أمّتي خسف وقذف<sup>2</sup>  
ومسخ . قيل يا رسول الله متى . قال إذا ظهرت المعازف  
والقينات واستحلّت الخمر . والمعازف هي آلات الطرب  
والقينات الجوارى المغنّيات [F. 53a.] وأمّا القذف فهو  
الرمي بالحجارة [من السماء كما أرسلت على قوم لوط على  
قبائل منها وعلى دور منها وليرسلنّ عليهم<sup>3</sup> .

عن أبي أمامة رضي الله عنه عن رسول الله صلّى الله  
عليه وسلّم قال يبيت قوم من هذه الأمّة على طعام  
وشراب ولهو فيصبحون قد مُسخوا قردة وخنازير  
وليصيبهم خسف وقذف حتّى يصبح الناس فيقولون  
خُسف الليلة بدار فلان خُسف الليلة ببني فلان وليرسلنّ الله

<sup>1</sup> MS. سعيد. <sup>2</sup> MS. وقذف.

<sup>3</sup> The passage in brackets is added in the margin of the MS., and is followed by "صح" to indicate that it is a correction.

عليهم الریح العقیم الّتی أهلكت عادا بشریهم<sup>1</sup> الحمر  
وأكلهم الربا واتّخاذهم القینات ولبسهم الحریر وقطیعتهم  
الرحم.

وعن عائشة رضي الله عنها قالت قال رسول الله  
صلّى الله عليه وسلّم يكون في أمّتي خسف وقذف ومسوخ.  
قالت عائشة يا رسول الله<sup>2</sup> وهم يقولون لا إله إلا الله.  
قال إذا ظهرت القینات وظهر الزنا وشرب الحمر ولبس  
الحریر كان ذا عندنا.

عن عليّ رضي الله عنه قال قال رسول الله صلّى الله  
عليه وسلّم إذا عملت<sup>3</sup> أمّتي خمس عشرة<sup>4</sup> خصلة<sup>5</sup> حلّ  
بها ذلك<sup>6</sup> البلاء. قيل<sup>7</sup> يا رسول الله وما هنّ. قال إذا  
كان المغنم دولا [F. 53b.] والأمانة مغنما والزكوة مغرما  
وأطاع الرجل زوجته وعقّ أمّه وبرّ صديقه وجفا أباه  
وارتفعت الأصوات في المساجد<sup>9</sup> وكان زعيم<sup>10</sup> القوم أرذلهم

<sup>1</sup> MS. بشریهم.

<sup>2</sup> MS. أ. <sup>3</sup> Al-Tirmidhī, *Fitan* 38, فعلت.

<sup>4</sup> Following Tir.; MS. has خمسة عشر. <sup>5</sup> MS. حصّله.

<sup>6</sup> Wanting in Tir.

<sup>7</sup> Tir. فقيل.

<sup>8</sup> Tir. وما هنّ يا رسول الله.

<sup>9</sup> MS. المساجد.

<sup>10</sup> MS. ازعيم.



وأكرم الرجل مخافة شره وشرب الخمر<sup>1</sup> ولبس الحرير  
 واتخذت القينات والمعازف ولعن آخر هذه الأمة أولها  
 فليرتقبوا عند ذلك ثلاثاً<sup>2</sup> ريحاً حمراء<sup>3</sup> وخسفاً<sup>4</sup> ومسحاً.  
 قال الشيخ رحمه الله<sup>5</sup> قلت قوله إذا كان المغنم دولاً  
 أي تغلب الأمراء والملوك على الغنائم فيداولونها بينهم  
 ولا يقسمونها في الجند الذي غنمها<sup>6</sup>. والأمانة مغنماً أي  
 يصير الناس لخياتهم يعدّون الأموال التي يؤتمنون عليها  
 غنيمة يغتنمونها<sup>7</sup> يودع إليه وديعة أو يوصى إليه وصية  
 أو يوكل في وكالة وشبهه يكرهه الأمين لأنه لنفسه فيه  
 عناء ويحبّه الخائن لأنه يراه ربحاً ومغنماً قد سبق إليه.  
 والزكاة مغرمها أي ليس لأغنياء ذلك الزمان نية في طلب  
 الأجر إذا أخرجوا زكوات أموالهم وإنما يخرجونها  
 بقهر السلطان [F. 54a.] أو لرياء الناس فيعدّون خروجها  
 مغرمها يغرمونه<sup>8</sup> لا ثواباً قدّموه. قوله وبرّ صديقه وجفا  
 أباه إنما عاب عليهم برّ أصدقائهم<sup>9</sup> إلا أنهم لم يكن إلا

<sup>1</sup> Tir. وشربت الخمر. For gender of vb. in text cf. Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, i, 180c.

<sup>2</sup> MS. ثلاثاً. <sup>3</sup> Following Tir.; MS. حمراء. <sup>4</sup> Tir. أو. <sup>5</sup> MS. رحمة.

<sup>6</sup> MS. غنمها. <sup>7</sup> يتغنمونها. <sup>8</sup> MS. يغرموه. <sup>9</sup> MS. صدقاتهم.

إنما كانت مودة بينهم في الحياة الدنيا ولو كان ذلك البر<sup>١</sup>  
لله خالصا لم يكن لأبيه جافيا<sup>١</sup>.

وعن أبي هريرة<sup>٢</sup> رضي الله عنه قال قال رسول الله  
صلّى الله عليه وسلّم يمسخ قوم من هذه الأمة في آخر  
الزمان قردة وخنازير. قالوا يا رسول الله يشهدون ان لا  
إله إلا الله وأنّ محمّدا رسول الله. قال بلى ويصومون  
ويصلّون ويحجّون. قالوا فما بالهم. قال اتّخذوا المعازف  
والدفوف والقيينات فباتوا على شربهم<sup>٣</sup> ولهوهم فأصبحوا  
وقد مسخوا قردة وخنازير.

وعن صالح بن خالد<sup>٤</sup> رفع إلى النبي صلّى الله عليه  
وسلّم كان يقول<sup>٥</sup> ليستحلّ أناس من أمّتي الحرير والخمر  
والمعازف وليأتني الله على أهل حاضر منهم يجبل<sup>٦</sup> حتّى  
ينبذه عليهم ويمسخ<sup>٧</sup> آخرون قردة<sup>٨</sup> وخنازير.

وعن جبير بن نفير<sup>١٠</sup> قال قال رسول الله صلّى الله  
عليه وسلّم لتستصعبن<sup>١١</sup> [F. 54b.] الأرض بأهلها حتّى لا

<sup>١</sup> MS. خافيا. <sup>٢</sup> MS. ابى هريره. <sup>٣</sup> MS. شربهم. <sup>٤</sup> MS. بن خالد.  
<sup>٥</sup> MS. كان يقول. <sup>٦</sup> MS. مجبل. <sup>٧</sup> MS. وعسخ. <sup>٨</sup> MS. مرده.  
<sup>٩</sup> MS. وخنازير. <sup>١٠</sup> MS. خبير. <sup>١١</sup> MS. بن.

يكون على ظهرها أهل بيت مدر ولا وبر وليبتلين<sup>1</sup> آخر  
 هذه الأمة بالرجف فإن تابوا تاب الله عليهم وإن عادوا  
 عاد الله عليهم بالرجف والقذف والمسح والصواعق .  
 قوله لتستصعبن الأرض بأهلها<sup>2</sup> أي تبقى<sup>3</sup> الأرض  
 لشدة الزلازل وكثرة الأهوال كظهر البعير الصعب  
 الذي لا يستقرّ عليه راكب ولا حمل إلا ألقاه حتى لا  
 يكون على ظهرها أهل بيت مجتمع شملهم منتظم أمرهم  
 إلا تشتتوا وتفرّقوا بالقتل والسبي والجور والفلاء وما يشبه  
 ذلك من مفرقات الجموع وغلّيات الربوع . ومن اعتبر  
 زماننا هذا وجده قد كثر في أهله هذا .

عن صحار قال قال رسول الله صلّى الله عليه وسلّم  
 لا تقوم الساعة حتى يخسف<sup>4</sup> بقبائل فيقال من بني فلان .  
 وكان أبو هريرة<sup>5</sup> رضي الله عنه يقول لا تقوم  
 الساعة حتى يمشي الرجلان إلى الأمر يعملانه فيمسح  
 أحدهما<sup>6</sup> قردا أو خنزيرا فلا يمنع الذي نجا منهما ما رأى  
 بصاحبه أن [F. 55a.] يمشي إلى شأنه ذلك حتى يقضي

<sup>1</sup> MS. وليبتلين.<sup>2</sup> MS. أهلها.<sup>3</sup> MS. تبقي.<sup>4</sup> MS. يخسف.<sup>5</sup> MS. هريرة.<sup>6</sup> MS. أحدهما.

شهوته منه وحتى يمشي الرجلان إلى الأمر فيعملانه  
 فيخسف بأحدهما فلا يمنع الذي نجا منها ما رأى بصاحبه  
 أن يمضي إلى شأنه ذلك حتى يقضي شهوته منه .  
 وقال مالك بن دينار بلغني أن ربحا تكون في آخر  
 الزمان عظيمة<sup>1</sup> فيفزع الناس إلى علمائهم فيجدونهم قد  
 مسخوا .

عن أبي أمامة قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه  
 وسلم إن الله قد حرم القينة وبيعها<sup>2</sup> وثمنها وتعليمها<sup>3</sup>  
 والاستماع إليها . ثم قرأ قوله تعالى ومن الناس من يشتري  
 لهو الحديث . فقال والله هو الغناء وأشباهه .

وقال ابن مسعود الغناء ينبت النفاق في القلب كما  
 ينبت الماء الزرع . وعنه قال قال رسول الله صلى الله  
 عليه وسلم الغناء ينبت النفاق في القلب كما ينبت الماء البقل .  
 وعن ابن عباس رضي الله عنه في قوله تعالى وأنتم  
 ساعدون قال هو الغناء بالحميرية . اسمد لنا أي غنّ لنا .

<sup>1</sup> This reading is given tentatively. The MS. has وظيفة.

<sup>2</sup> MS. وتبعها .

<sup>3</sup> MS. وتعليمها .

يعني أنّ لغة حمير من أهل اليمن إذا أمروا المغنّي أن يغنيهم [F. 55b.] قالوا اسمد لنا .

وقال ابن مسعود<sup>1</sup> إذا ركب الرجل الدابة ولم يسم الله تعالى ردفه الشيطان . قال له تغنّه فإن كان لا يحسن قال له تمّنّه .

عن أبي أمامة رضي الله عنه أنّ النبيّ صلّى الله عليه وسلّم قال ما رفع أحد صوته بغناء إلّا بعث الله إليه شيطانين يجلسان على منكبيه يضربان بأعقابهما على صدره حتّى يمسك .

ومرّ ابن عمر على قوم محرمين وفيهم رجل يغنّي فقال ألا لا سمع الله لكم ألا لا سمع الله لكم . ومرّ بجارية صغيرة تغنّي فقال لو ترك أحدا لترك هذه الجارية .

وسأل إنسان القاسم<sup>2</sup> بن محمّد عن الغناء فقال أنهاك عنه وأكرّهه لك . قال أحرام هو . قال انظر يا بن أخي إذا ميّز الله الحقّ من الباطل في أيّهما يجعل<sup>3</sup> الغناء .

وقال الشعبيّ لعن الله المغنّي والمغنّي له .

<sup>1</sup> MS. بن .

<sup>2</sup> MS. القسم .

<sup>3</sup> MS. يجعل .

قيل وكان رجل يكثّر الجلوس في المسجد فتركه  
 واتّخذ قينة ولها بها عن المسجد فكتب إليه<sup>1</sup> بعض إخوانه  
 يقول انظر يا أخي من أيّ شيء خرجت وفي أيّ شيء  
 دخلت وعلى من أقبلت ومن أقبل عليك وعمّن أعرضت  
 ومن أعرض عنك فإنّك [F. 56a.] إن أحسنت النظر علمت  
 أنّك خرجت من النور ودخلت في الظلمة وأعرضت عن  
 الله وأعرض الله عنك .

وكتب عمر بن عبد العزيز إلى مؤدّب<sup>2</sup> ولده خذهم  
 بالجفاء فهو أمتع لإقدامهم وترك الصبحة فإنّ عاداتها  
 تكسب الغفلة وقلة الضحك فإنّ كثرت تميّت القلب  
 وليكن أوّل ما يعتقدون من أدبك بغض الملاهي التي  
 بدؤها من الشيطان وعاقبتها سخط الرحمن فإنّه بلغني عن  
 الثقات من حملة العلم أنّ حضور المعازف واستماع الأغاني  
 والهج بها ينبت النفاق في القلب كما ينبت العشب الماء .  
 وليفتتح كلّ غلام<sup>4</sup> منهم<sup>5</sup> بجزء من القرآن يثبت في قراءته  
 فإذا فرغ منه تناول نبله وقوسه وخرج إلى الغرض حافيا

<sup>1</sup> MS. إله.<sup>2</sup> MS. بن.<sup>3</sup> MS. مؤدّب.<sup>4</sup> MS. علام.<sup>5</sup> MS. بجزو.

فرمى سبعة أرشاق ثم انصرف إلى القائلة فإن ابن مسعود كان يقول يا بني قتلوا فإن الشياطين لا تقيل. قوله الصبحة التي نهام عنها فإنها هي النوم بعد طلوع الصبح. [F. 56b.] وقال يزيد بن<sup>1</sup> الوليد يا بني أمية إياكم والغناء<sup>2</sup> فإنه ينقص الحياء ويزيد الشهوة ويهدم المروة وإنه لينوب عن الحر ويفعل ما يفعل السكر فإن كنتم لا بد فاعلين فجنبوه النساء والصبيان فإن الغناء داعية الزنا.

وقال الفضيل بن عياض الغناء رقية الزنا.

وقال رافع بن حفص المدني أربعة<sup>3</sup> لا ينظر الله إليهم يوم القيامة الساحرة والنائحة والمغنية والخائنة لبعلمها. من أدرك ذلك الزمان فالأولى به طول الحزن.

وقال علي بن الحسين ما قُدّست أمة فيها البربط يعني اللعب بالعود<sup>4</sup>.

عن زيد بن علي<sup>5</sup> قال قال رجل يا رسول الله متى

<sup>1</sup> MS. برید س.

<sup>2</sup> MS. والغنى.

<sup>3</sup> The gender may be explained as due to some such word as أشخاص understood. Otherwise, as all those referred to are women, one might have expected أربع. . . . . إليهن.

<sup>4</sup> MS. بالعود.

<sup>5</sup> MS. بن.

الساعة . فزبره رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم حتّى  
 [إذا] صلى الفجر رفع رأسه إلى السماء فقال تبارك الله  
 خالقها ورافعها ومبدلها وطاويها كطيّ السجلّ للكتاب .  
 ثمّ قال أين السائل عن الساعة . قال فجثا رجل<sup>1</sup> من آخر  
 القوم على ركبتيه فإذا هو عمر بن الخطّاب . فقال  
 رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ذلك عند حيف الأئمة  
 وتكذيب بالقدر وإيماناً بالنجوم وقوما يتخذون الأمانة  
 مغنماً والزكوة [F. 57a.] مغرماً والفاحشة زيادة . فزعم أنّه  
 سأل إياه عنها . فقال الرجلان من أهل الفسق يصنع  
 أحدهما لصاحبه طعاماً وشراباً ويأتيه بالمزاه فيقول اصنع  
 لي كما صنعت لك فيتزاوران<sup>2</sup> على ذلك . فعند ذلك  
 قال هلكت أمتي يا بن الخطّاب .

وعنه صلى الله عليه وسلم أنّه قال حين سأله رجل  
 فقال يا رسول الله أتنهانا عن البكاء وتبكي قال إنّما نهيت  
 عن صوتين أحمرين فاجرين [صوت] عند نعمة لهو ولعب  
 ومزمار شيطان وصوت عند مصيبة وخمش وجوه  
 وشقّ جيوب ورنة شيطان .

<sup>1</sup> MS. فجثا رجلاً.

<sup>2</sup> MS. فيتزاورون.



وقال الحسن رحمه الله صوتان ملعونان من مار عند  
 نعمة ورثة عند مصيبة . وقال وذكر الله المؤمنين فقال  
<sup>1</sup> وفي أموالهم حقّ معلوم للسائل والمحروم وجعلتم أنتم  
 في أموالكم حقّا معلوما للمغنيّة عند النعمة<sup>2</sup> وللنايحة عند  
 المصيبة .

وكان حذيفة<sup>3</sup> يحدث عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه  
 وسلّم لا يتشبه الرجل بالمرأة [F. 576.] في لبسها ولا تتشبه  
 المرأة بالرجل في لبسه . قال وأنتم تخرجون النساء في ثياب  
 الرجال وتخرجون الرجال في ثياب النساء . لا برّ ولا تقوى  
 ولا غيرة ولا حياء . قال ويموت الميت فيأتون بأمة  
 مستأجرة تفتن<sup>4</sup> أحياءهم في دورهم وتؤذي أموالهم في  
 قبورهم تمنعهم أجرهم في الآخرة لما يعطونها من أجرها في  
 الدنيا . وها عسى أن تقول النائحة أيها الناس إنني آمركم  
 بما نهاكم الله عنه وأنهاكم عما أمركم الله به . ألا إن الله

<sup>1</sup> Qur. lxx, 24, has والذين . The omission of الذين may be intentional, as the sentence reads better without it in this context, but it is unusual to omit anything from a Qur'anic quotation.

<sup>2</sup> MS. النعمة .

<sup>3</sup> MS. حذيفة .

<sup>4</sup> MS. تفتن .

أمر بالصبر وأنا أنهماكم أن تصبروا . ألا إن الله نهاكم عن  
الجزع وأنا آمركم أن تجزعوا .

وعن نافع قال كنت أسير مع عبد الله بن عمر في  
طريق فسمع زمارة راع فوضع أصبعيه في أذنيه ثم  
عدل عن الطريق فلم يزل يقول يا نافع أسمع . قلت لا .  
فأخرج أصبعيه من أذنيه ثم رجع إلى الطريق وقال  
هكذا رأيت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم صنع .  
وقال أنس رضي الله عنه أخبت الكسب كسب  
الزمارة .

[F. 58a.] وعن [أبي]<sup>1</sup> أمانة رضي الله عنه قال قال  
رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم إن الله بعثني رحمة وهدى  
للعالمين بعثني لأتحق المعازف والمزامير وأمزق الجاهليّة  
والأوثان وحلف ربّي بعزّته لا يشرب أحد الخمر في  
الدنيا إلّا سقاه مثلها في<sup>2</sup> شرّ الحميم يوم<sup>3</sup> القيامة ولا يدعها  
أحد في الدنيا إلّا سقاه إيّاها في حضيرة القدس حتّى  
تقنع نفسه .

<sup>1</sup> MS. omits. أبي.

<sup>2</sup> MS. في.

<sup>3</sup> MS. يوم.

وعن محمد بن<sup>1</sup> المنكدر أنه قال إذا كان يوم القيامة  
ينادي ينادي أين<sup>2</sup> الذين كانوا ينزهون أنفسهم عن اللهو  
ومز امير الشيطان أسكنوهم رياض المسك . ثم يقول  
للملائكة أسمعوهم حمدي وثنائي<sup>3</sup> وأعلموهم ألا خوف عليهم  
ولا هم يحزنون<sup>4</sup> .

وعن مجاهد في قول الله تعالى واستفز من استطعت  
منهم بصوتك . قال المزمار . واجلب عليهم بخيلك  
ورجلك . قال كل ركب ركب في معصية الله فهو في  
خيل إبليس وكل رجل سعت في معصية الله فهي في  
رجل إبليس .

وعن ابن عباس عن [F. 58b.] النبي صلى الله عليه  
وسلم قال إن الله حرّم عليكم الخمر والميسر والكوبة وهي  
الطبل . وقال كل مسكر حرام .

وعن قيس بن سعيد<sup>5</sup> أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه  
وسلم قال إن ربّي حرّم عليّ الخمر والميسر والقنينين  
والكوبة . الميسر هو القمار والقنين هو العود وقيل<sup>6</sup> القنين

<sup>1</sup> MS. بن .<sup>2</sup> MS. ابن .<sup>3</sup> MS. وثنائي .<sup>4</sup> MS. يحزنون .<sup>5</sup> سعد ؟<sup>6</sup> MS. وقبل .

لعبة من لعب القمر والكوبة الطبل وقيل العود  
والنرد .

وقال سويد بن غفلة<sup>1</sup> الملائكة لا تدخل بيتا فيه دفّ .  
وقال الحسن ليس الدفّ من سنة المسلمين في

شيء .

وكان عاصم بن هبيرة لا يرى دفّا إلا كسره . فلما  
كبر أخذ دفّا فجعل يطأ عليه برجليه<sup>2</sup> فلم ينكسر فقال لم  
يغلبني<sup>3</sup> شيطان لهم غير هذا .

وقال إبراهيم<sup>4</sup> كانوا يأخذون بأفواه السكك  
يخرقون الدفوف التي مع الجوّاري . يعني أصحاب ابن  
مسعود كانوا يقفون في رؤوس<sup>5</sup> الدروب لإزالة هذا  
المنكر .

عن بريدة رضي الله عنه أنّ النبيّ صلّى الله عليه  
وسلم قال من لعب بالنردشير<sup>6</sup> فقد عصى الله ورسوله . وعنه  
أنّه سمع رسول الله صلّى الله عليه وسلم يقول لا يقرب

<sup>1</sup> MS. بن. <sup>2</sup> MS. غفلة. <sup>3</sup> MS. برجليه. <sup>4</sup> MS. يغلبني.

<sup>5</sup> This word has an *alif* in the MS. in this instance. In other places the *alif* is omitted. As either form is allowable, the spelling of the MS. is reproduced in each instance.

<sup>6</sup> MS. رؤوس. <sup>7</sup> MS. بالنردشير.

كما بها أحد ينتظر ما تأتي به إِلَّا عصى الله ورسوله . يعني  
اللاعب بكعب النرد إذا<sup>1</sup> ضرب بها<sup>2</sup> ينتظر [F. 59a.] ما  
يخرج له منها من الظفر والفوز فذلك هو المقامر والمقامر  
فاسق .

وعنه صلى الله عليه وسلم أنه قال مثل الذي يلعب  
بالنرد ثم يقوم فيصلّي فإن الله لا يقبل صلواته ومثله كمثل  
الذي يتوضأ<sup>3</sup> بالقيح ودم الخنزير .

وعنه صلى الله عليه وسلم أنه قال اتّقوا هاتين  
اللعبتين المشومتين اللتين تزجران زجرا فإنهما من ميسر  
العجم . إنّما سمّاهما المشومتين لما فيهما<sup>4</sup> من النقط السود  
فهي فيهما كالوشم . وقوله تزجران زجرا أي تخرجان  
النصيب بغير حق ولا أصل وإنما هو من جهة الاتفاق  
كما يفعل زاجر الطير وهو الذي يأخذ الفأل من أصواتها  
فيصيب ويخطئ بغير حق ولا أصل .

وقال ابن عمر اللاعب بالنرد قمارا كالمدهن بودك  
الخنزير يعني بدهنه .

<sup>1</sup> MS. ادا .<sup>2</sup> MS. بها .<sup>3</sup> MS. توضى .<sup>4</sup> MS. فيها .

وعن يحيى بن<sup>1</sup> [أبي]<sup>2</sup> كثير أنه مرّ على قوم يلعبون  
بالنرد فقال قلوب لاهية وأيدي عاملة وألسنة لاغية.

وسئل عبد الله بن نافع عن الشطرنج والنرد فقال ما  
أدركت أحدا من علمائنا إلا وهو يكرهما. هكذا<sup>4</sup> كان  
مالك يقول. وسئل<sup>5</sup> عن شهادتهم فقال لا تقبل شهادتهم  
ولا كرامة أن يكون يخفي ذلك ولا يعلنه. وهكذا كان  
مالك يقول وكذلك في الشطرنج<sup>6</sup> [F. 59b.] قوله في الغناء<sup>7</sup>  
لا تقبل له شهادة<sup>8</sup>.

وعن علي رضي الله عنه أنه مرّ على قوم يلعبون  
بالشطرنج فقال ما هذه التماثيل التي أنتم لها عاكفون لئن  
يمسّ أحدكم جها حتى يطفأ<sup>9</sup> فخير<sup>10</sup> له من أن يمسخها<sup>11</sup>.  
وسئل أبو جعفر عن الشطرنج فقال دعونا من  
هذه الجوسية.

وقيل لإبراهيم ما تقول في اللعب بالشطرنج<sup>12</sup> فقال  
إنها ملعونة.

<sup>1</sup> MS. يحيى. <sup>2</sup> MS. بن. <sup>3</sup> MS. omits. <sup>4</sup> MS. هكذا.  
<sup>5</sup> MS. وشيل. <sup>6</sup> MS. الشطرنج. <sup>7</sup> MS. الغنى. <sup>8</sup> MS. شهادة.  
<sup>9</sup> MS. يطفى. <sup>10</sup> MS. خير. <sup>11</sup> MS. مسها. <sup>12</sup> MS. بالشطرنج.

ورأى رجل<sup>1</sup> من الشام في منامه أنه يغفر لكل  
مؤمن ومسلم في كل يوم اثنتا عشرة<sup>2</sup> مرة إلا أصحاب  
الشاه يعني الشطرنج<sup>3</sup>.

وقال مالك الشطرنج من النرد.

وبلغنا عن ابن عباس أنه وإلى مال يقيم فوجدها  
فأحرقها<sup>4</sup>.

وسئل ابن عمر عن الشطرنج<sup>5</sup> فقال هي شر<sup>6</sup> من النرد  
من وجهين أحدهما أن النرد ليس فيه من شغل<sup>7</sup> القلب  
بطول الفكر مثل ما في الشطرنج فإنها تحتاج إلى طول  
الفكر فتؤدي إلى تضييع<sup>8</sup> الوقت. الثاني أن النرد ليس  
بين أهله فيه من المنازعة مثل ما في الشطرنج<sup>9</sup> فإن لغوهم  
عليها كثير وجدالهم فيها شديد ومع ذلك فإن ميل الناس  
إلى الشطرنج أشد [F. 60a.] واشتغالهم به أكثر. فلهذا  
قال شر من النرد. وهو يعلم أن النص في تحريم<sup>10</sup> النرد

<sup>1</sup> MS. وراء رجلاً.

<sup>2</sup> MS. اثنا عشر.

<sup>3</sup> MS. السطرنج.

<sup>4</sup> فأحرقها؟

<sup>5</sup> MS. الشطرنج.

<sup>6</sup> MS. اشر. This correction is made to agree with the form شر which occurs at the beginning of F. 60a. It is the better form.

<sup>7</sup> MS. شغل.

<sup>8</sup> MS. تضييع.

<sup>9</sup> MS. الشطرنج.

<sup>10</sup> MS. تحريم.

صحيح والإجماع عليها منعقد بخلاف الشطرنج<sup>1</sup> فإنها  
أيسر بكثير.

ورأى أيوب قوما يلعبون بالشطرنج<sup>2</sup> فقال حدثنا  
محمد بن المنكدر قال من لعب بالنرد<sup>3</sup> فقد عصى الله ورسوله.  
فقليل له ليس هذا نرداً<sup>4</sup>. فقال النرد والشطرنج سواء.

وعن صالح بن الخليل أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه  
وسلم أمر بقطع المراجيح. وكان أبو بردة إذا رأى أحداً  
من أهله وولده يلعب على المراجيح ضربهم وكسرها.

وعن عطاء وطاوس ومجاهد قالوا كل شيء من القمار  
فهو من الميسر حتى لعب الصبيان بالكعاب<sup>5</sup> والجوز<sup>6</sup>.  
وقال ابن سيرين ما كان من شيء فيه قمار أو صياح  
أو شر فهو من الميسر.

وسئل الحسن عن دقاق البيض قال لا يصلح. وعنه  
أنه يرخّص في قمار البيض للصبيان. وكان ابن سيرين<sup>7</sup>  
يكرهه. وكان ابن المسيّب لا يرى بأساً بكسر البيض  
الذي يتقارم به [F. 60b.] الصبيان. وكذلك الحسن إنهما

<sup>1</sup> MS. الشطرنج. <sup>2</sup> MS. بالشطرنج. <sup>3</sup> MS. بالنرد. <sup>4</sup> MS. نرد.  
<sup>5</sup> MS. بالكعاب. <sup>6</sup> MS. والجوز. <sup>7</sup> MS. بن. <sup>8</sup> MS. سيرين.



رخص في هذا لأنه رأى<sup>1</sup> الصبيان<sup>2</sup> غير مكلفين فلم ير<sup>3</sup>  
لفعلهم أثرا في التحريم بخلاف البالغين فإن قارهم معصية  
وما يكسبونه<sup>4</sup> به حرام .

وعن أبي هريرة<sup>5</sup> أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم  
رأى رجلا يتبع حمامة فقال شيطان<sup>6</sup> يتبع شيطانة .

وعن مجاهد في قوله تعالى تبنون بكل ريع<sup>7</sup> آية<sup>8</sup>  
تعبثون قال بروج الحمام . وقيل كان ملاعب آل فرعون  
الحمام . وقال إبراهيم من لعب بالحمام<sup>9</sup> الطيارة لم يمت<sup>10</sup>  
حتى يذوق<sup>11</sup> طعم الفقر . وكان شريح لا يجير صاحب  
حمام ولا حمامه .

وقال سفيان إننا<sup>12</sup> سمعنا لعبا بالجلهاق ولعبا بالحمام  
هو عمل قوم لوط . الجلهاق قوس البندق وكراهيتها  
لأجل أنها لا تسيل دم الصيد فصيدها في الغالب موقوذ .

<sup>1</sup> MS. را . <sup>2</sup> MS. الصبيان or الصبيان . <sup>3</sup> MS. ير .

<sup>4</sup> MS. يكسبونه . <sup>5</sup> MS. هريره .

<sup>6</sup> MS. has a form which looks like شيطانا which might be defended on the ground of its being attracted into the case of رجلا , but it may simply be a carelessly written بن . Ibn Māja, *Adab* 43, and Abū Dāwud, *Adab* 57, have the nominative.

<sup>7</sup> MS. ريع . <sup>8</sup> MS. آيه . <sup>9</sup> MS. بالحمام . <sup>10</sup> MS. يمت .

<sup>11</sup> MS. يذوق . <sup>12</sup> MS. ان .

وعن ابن عباس<sup>1</sup> أنَّ النبيَّ صَلَّى الله عليه وسلم قال  
فن عمل عمل قوم لوط يقتل الفاعل<sup>3</sup> والمفعول به .

وقال إبراهيم لو كان أحد ينبغي له [أن]<sup>4</sup> يرحم مرتين<sup>7</sup>  
لرحم اللوطي<sup>5</sup> . يعني لو أمكن أن يحيا<sup>6</sup> المرحوم بعد<sup>7</sup>  
قتله<sup>8</sup> بالحجارة [F. 61a.] لكان اللوطي<sup>9</sup> . إذا رجم وقتل<sup>9</sup>  
بالرجم<sup>10</sup> ثم حي<sup>10</sup> يستوجب أن يرحم مرة أخرى حتى  
يقتل . أي ذنبه أعظم من أن يكتفي بالرجم مرة واحدة<sup>11</sup>  
بخلاف الزاني فإنه يكفيه<sup>11</sup> عقوبة<sup>12</sup> وطهارة رجم<sup>12</sup> مرة<sup>12</sup>  
واللوطي لا يكفيه ذلك .

وسئل ابن عباس<sup>13</sup> ما حد اللوطي قال ننظر أعلامنا<sup>14</sup>  
في القرية فيأتي منها<sup>15</sup> ثم يتبع<sup>15</sup> بالحجارة .  
وقال مجاهد إن الذي يعمل ذلك العمل يعني عمل<sup>16</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS. .ن.

<sup>2</sup> This word is at the end of a line, and there is no room for the whole of the final letter.

<sup>3</sup> MS. [الفاع]. The word is at the end of a line, leaving no room for the last letter.

<sup>4</sup> MS. omits. <sup>5</sup> MS. يعني. <sup>6</sup> MS. يحيا. <sup>7</sup> MS. بعد. <sup>8</sup> MS. وله.

<sup>9</sup> MS. رجم. <sup>10</sup> MS. بالرجم. <sup>11</sup> MS. يكفه. <sup>12</sup> MS. وحم.

<sup>13</sup> MS. وسئل بن عباس. <sup>14</sup> MS. منه. <sup>15</sup> MS. يتبع.

<sup>16</sup> MS. يعني.

قوم لوط لو اغتسل بكل قطرة نزلت<sup>1</sup> من السماء وكل قطرة في الأرض لم يزل نجسا.

وقال الزهري اللوطي يرجم أحصن أو لم يحصن سنة ماضية.

وعن واثلة بن الأسقع رفعه قال سحّاق النساء بينهنّ لواط وقيل إنّ غشيان بعضهنّ بعضا كان على عهد تبع وهنّ أصحاب الرسّ لهنّ سبعون جلبابا<sup>3</sup> من نار ودروع<sup>4</sup> من نار وتاج من نار. أعلموا<sup>5</sup> بهذا نساءكم.

وقيل لمحمد بن عليّ عذب الله نساء قوم لوط بعمل رجالهم. فقال الله أعدل من ذلك. بل استغنى الرجال بالرجال والنساء بالنساء.

عن حورثة<sup>6</sup> [F. 61b.] بن أسماء عن عمّه قال حجبت فنزلنا منزلا ومعنا امرأة فنامت فانتبعت وحيّة منظوية قد جمعت رأسها مع ذنبها بين يديها<sup>7</sup>. فها لنا ذلك وارتحلنا فلم تزل منظوية عليها لا يضرّها شيء حتّى دخلنا أنصاب الحرم فانتابت. فدخلنا مكة فقضينا نسكنا

<sup>1</sup> MS. تزلت.

<sup>2</sup> MS. ابن.

<sup>3</sup> MS. جلباب.

<sup>4</sup> MS. دروع.

<sup>5</sup> MS. أعلموا.

<sup>6</sup> MS. حورثة.

<sup>7</sup> MS. يديها.

وانصرفنا حتّى إذا كنّا بالمكان الذي تطوّقت عليها  
فنامت فاستيقظت<sup>1</sup> والحية منطوية عليها . ثمّ صفرت  
الحية وإذا بالوادي يسيل علينا حيّات فنهشتها حتّى  
بقيت عظاما . قتلنا لجارية لها ويلك أخبرينا عن هذه  
المرأة<sup>2</sup> . قالت بغت ثلاث مرّات كلّ مرّة تلد ولدا فإذا  
وضعت سجرت<sup>3</sup> التنّور ثمّ ألقت فيه .

وعن عكرمة قال لعن رسول الله صلّى الله عليه<sup>4</sup>  
وسلم البيت الذي يدخله المخنث .

وعن عثمان رضي الله عنه أنّه جلد رجلا قال لرجل  
يا مخنث عشرين جلدة .

وسئل طاوس رحمه الله عن الرجل يأتى المرأة في  
عجزها<sup>5</sup> فقال تلك كفر إنّما هلكت قوم لوط بذلك<sup>6</sup>  
صنعت الرجال بالرجال والنساء بالنساء<sup>7</sup> .

<sup>1</sup> MS. فاستيقظ . The word comes at the end of the line, where there is no room to finish it.

<sup>2</sup> MS. المرم .

<sup>3</sup> MS. شجرت .

<sup>4</sup> MS. عليه .

<sup>5</sup> MS. باقى .

<sup>6</sup> MS. عجزها .

<sup>7</sup> MS. بذلك .

<sup>8</sup> MS. بالنساء .

## VI

### MAJD AL-DĪN

IBN Khallikān gives this author's name as Abū'l Futūḥ<sup>1</sup> Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad<sup>2</sup> Al-Ṭūsī Al-Ghazālī,<sup>3</sup> and his *laqab* as Majd al-Dīn. There are different opinions about his *laqab*. On a MS. in Berlin (Ahlwardt 2396) he is called Shihāb al-Dīn, and on the title page of the Berlin copy of the *Bawāriq al-ilmā'*, he is called Najm al-Dīn. As titles prefaced to MSS. are not necessarily correct, and as there seems to be no certainty in the matter, or method of proving which is the correct *laqab*, it is best to accept that given by Ibn Khallikān.

Majd al-Dīn was born at Ṭūs and was a brother of the famous Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī. He was a doctor of the Shāfi'ī madhhab, but is said to have been more interested in public preaching than in studying matters of the religious law. Yet, when his brother gave up lecturing in the Nizāmīya *madrassa* in Baghdād, he took his place for a time. He travelled widely, associating with Sūfis, but in general was inclined to solitude. Ibn Khallikān credits him with having had the power of performing miracles.<sup>4</sup> He died at Qazwīn in 520/1126.<sup>5</sup>

Brockelmann mentions seven works produced by him.<sup>6</sup> Among his literary productions was a summary in one volume of his brother's *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, which he called *Lubāb al-ihyā'* (Kernel of the *Ihyā'*).

<sup>1</sup> This name is also given in Ahlwardt, 2396.

<sup>2</sup> "Ibn Aḥmad" is mentioned only by Ibn Khallikān (i, 79).

<sup>3</sup> Hājji Khalifa, ii, 2450, gives "Al-Ghazālī al-Ṭūsī", but this is the wrong order, since Ṭūs was Majd al-Dīn's birthplace.

<sup>4</sup> These details are taken from Ibn Khallikān (De Slane), i, 79 f.

<sup>5</sup> Loc. cit.; Hājji Khalifa, ii, 2450.

<sup>6</sup> *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, i, 426.

His work, translated below, shows that he was a man of decided opinions who could give a reason for the faith that was in him. He is perfectly convinced that he is right, and so he deals hard blows to his opponents. One of his favourite methods of argument is to face his opponents with a tradition which shows that the Prophet approved of what they condemn, so indicating that they are criticizing the Prophet. Then comes the smashing blow, "If that flutters in anyone's thought, he is an infidel by general consent."

Although his famous brother wrote at length on the subject of listening to music, Majd al-Dīn by no means copied him when he wrote on the same subject. The *Bawāriq al-ilmā'* is an independent work in which Majd al-Dīn deals with the matter in an original manner. If one compares it with his brother's work, it is obvious that, even where they cover the same ground, Majd al-Dīn expresses his own thoughts in his own way. He begins by justifying audition and describing the circumstances in which it can most suitably be conducted.<sup>1</sup> Then follows a long section in which he takes up and demolishes the arguments of his opponents.<sup>2</sup> Next comes a section in which he discusses the nature and value of audition as a spiritual exercise.<sup>3</sup> This is followed by a very valuable section in which he describes in detail how a *dhikr* should be conducted, quoting Qur'ānic and poetical passages which may be suitably used on such occasions.<sup>4</sup> Then the work ends on a despondent note in which he voices the plaint heard in all ages, that things are not what they once were.<sup>5</sup> Altogether it is a very valuable and lively work, infinitely superior to the arid series of quotations produced by Ibn abi'l-Dunyā.

<sup>1</sup> pp. 69-75.

<sup>4</sup> pp. 104-114.

<sup>2</sup> pp. 75-97.

<sup>5</sup> pp. 114-118.

<sup>3</sup> pp. 97-104.

## VII

### BAWĀRIQ AL-ILMĀ': MANUSCRIPTS

THERE are three MSS. extant of Majd al-Dīn's *Bawāriq al-ilmā'* :—

B. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek (Ahlwardt, 5505, folios 17*a* to 36*b*), 20 folios.

C. Cairo, *Dār al-kutub al-miṣrīya* (*Taṣawwuf*, 377), 9 folios.

P. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (De Slane, 4580), 12 folios.

Ahlwardt gives 750/1349 as the date of B; C is dated 1138/1725-6; and De Slane places P in the seventeenth century.

The text given below is based mainly on B and P. Of the three MSS. B is the most complete. After folio 26 it omits a passage which would occupy a complete folio; this is given in P and partly in C. P omits the whole of folio 33*a* in B, and also from the middle of folio 35*a* to the end (folio 36*b*). Otherwise B and P compare very closely, allowing for slight variations such as always occur between MSS. While P is written in a neater hand than B, and has very much fewer omissions of diacritical points, B is on the whole more accurate in the wording, and therefore, when there was any doubt, preference has been given to B in preparing the text below.

C is in a hopeless condition, and therefore it has been felt advisable to ignore it for the main part. To deal with it faithfully would almost necessitate reproducing the whole work, so many are the variations. It may represent someone's excerpts from the work. Passages are out of order, and there are repetitions and omissions. The latter part of the work is wanting. To indicate its condition an analysis of its relation to the text as given below is as follows :—

F. 1*a*, lines 1, 2, title.

F. 1*a*, line 3 to f. 1*b*, line 2 represent pp. 119 to 122, line 2.

F. 1*b*, lines 2-7 agree with p. 123, lines 5-11 ; lines 8-10 have extra material ; line 11 agrees generally with p. 123, line 13 ; lines 15-18 represent p. 125, lines 1-4 ; lines 10-15 agree with p. 125, lines 5-9 ; lines 18-21 same as p. 125, lines 12 ff. ; line 21 to f. 2*a*, line 4, have extra material.

F. 2*a*, lines 5-12 represent p. 126, lines 1-9, with an extra passage in the middle ; lines 12-16 represent p. 126, line 10 to p. 127, line 2, with variations ; lines 16-21 compare with p. 127, lines 3-10.

F. 2*b*, lines 1-5 perhaps represent p. 127, lines 11-13 with addits ; lines 5-10 give passage on p. 127, line 3 to p. 128, line 4.

F. 3*a*, lines 9-12 are a corrupt form of p. 128, line 8 to p. 129, line 4.

F. 2*b*, lines 10-15 have extra material ; lines 15-18 compare with p. 129, lines 7-9.

F. 3*a*, line 3, is reminiscent of p. 130, lines 4, 5 ; lines 4-9 have extra material.

F. 4*a*, line 11, has the quotation on p. 131, line 2.

F. 3*a*, lines 12-21, compare with p. 132.

F. 8*b*, line 19, is reminiscent of p. 132, lines 8 f.

F. 3*b*, lines 1-3, represent p. 133, lines 1-4, with omissions ; lines 3-5 have extra material.

F. 4*a*, lines 12-20, represent p. 133, line 11 to p. 134, line 6, with variations.

F. 2*b*, line 18, to f. 3*a*, line 2, has extra material, the beginning of which suggests p. 134, lines 7 f.

F. 5*a*, lines 4-6, give quotation on p. 134, lines 13 f.

F. 3*b*, lines 16-21, have extra material.

F. 5*b*, lines 5-8, represent p. 137, lines 5-8.

F. 3*b*, lines 5-16, have extra material, the latter part reminiscent of p. 137, lines 10 f.

F. 4*a*, lines 1-8, compare with p. 138, line 7 to p. 139, line 6 ; lines 8-12 have extra material ; line 20 to f. 4*b*, line 8, has extra material.

F. 4*b*, lines 12-16, agree with p. 139, lines 7-11 ; line 16 to f. 5*a*, line 1, is a comment on the preceding.



F. 5*a*, lines 1-7, agree with p. 140, lines 3-9; lines 7-8 have extra material; lines 8-10 are a shortened form of p. 140, lines 10 ff.; lines 11-13 have extra material.

F. 6*a*, lines 18-19, repeat material on p. 140, lines 11 ff.

F. 5*b*, line 11 to f. 6*a*, line 1, represent p. 141, line 2, to p. 142, line 2.

F. 5*a*, lines 13-17, are connected with passage ending p. 142, line 3.

F. 4*b*, lines 8-12, are connected with passage beginning p. 142, line 4.

F. 5*a*, line 17 to f. 5*b*, line 3, compares with p. 142, lines 4-13.

F. 5*b*, lines 3-5, have extra material; lines 9-11 have extra material.

F. 6*a*, lines 2-10, have extra material.

F. 6*a*, line 19, to f. 6*b*, line 4, compare with p. 147, line 11, to p. 148, line 8.

F. 6*b*, lines 4-8, represent, with omissions, p. 148, line 9, to p. 149, line 2; lines 8-11 have extra material; lines 11-12 represent p. 148, lines 11 f.

F. 6*a*, lines 10-18, agree generally with p. 150, line 8 to p. 151, line 2.

F. 7*a*, lines 1-6, deal with the matter of p. 150, lines 6 f. and p. 151, lines 4-7.

F. 8*b*, line 13, to f. 9*a*, line 1, suggest portions of pp. 150 f.

F. 7*a*, lines 6-13, agree generally with p. 152, lines 1-10; lines 13-18 give passage on p. 152, line 11, to p. 153, line 4 with variations and an inversion.

F. 6*b*, lines 13-19, agree with p. 154, lines 4-6, 9-12; lines 19-21 have extra material.

F. 8*b*, lines 4-13, are reminiscent of p. 155, lines 5 ff.

F. 8*a*, lines 18-19, are like p. 156, lines 4-6.

F. 7*a*, lines 18-19, agree with p. 156, lines 4-7; line 19 to f. 7*b*, line 2, have extra material.

F. 7*b*, lines 2-18, give p. 157, line 7, to p. 158, line 13 in a confused way; lines 18-21 have extra material; line 21

to f. 8*a*, line 1, seems a confusion of parts of passage in f. 7*b*, lines 2-18.

F. 8*a*, lines 1-7, in parts resembles p. 159, lines 5-13; lines 7-11 represent p. 159, line 13 to p. 160, line 5, with omissions and a variation at the end.

F. 2*a*, lines 4-5, give the tradition on p. 165, lines 5*f*.

F. 8*a*, lines 11-18, have extra material; line 19 to f. 8*b*, line 4, have extra material.

F. 9*a*, lines 1-13, have extra material.

From this it is clear that an enormous number of critical notes would be necessary to deal faithfully with the MS. It has been used occasionally when it gives a better reading than the others, but generally it is ignored. It proved to be useful in parts of the passage missing from B.

The MSS. are all in good condition and are legible. P is the neatest. C is written in a very clumsy hand, but it presents fewer problems of decipherment than either of the others. The characteristics of spelling correspond closely to those mentioned in connection with the MS. of Ibn abī'l-Dunyā's work, and the words have been treated similarly.

## VIII

### BAWĀRIQ AL-ILMA' : TRANSLATION

IN the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate. And Allāh bless our master, Muḥammad. Praise be to Allāh, who caused the servants to hear in the first covenant the address, "Am I not your Lord?"<sup>1</sup> to make perfect the rank of the branches of gnosis, who-perfected the intellects of the seekers to comprehend the benefits of the works and the graces, and who removed the veils of their spirits which prevent from rising to the Unitarian Presence by taking away the deviations and vicissitudes, who enslaved their hearts by the light of certainty, and who cleared the mirror of their souls by the powers of achievement (*tamkīn*)<sup>2</sup> so that they found the marks of the revelations and were free from the bondage of desires, and their bodies revolved in audition in search for freedom of the spirit and in eagerness for being granted the glorious things of the revelations; for they are among the most perfect characteristics of the (God-) fearing man. And I invoke blessing on His prophet, the seal of the apostles, who combines favours and branches of gnosis. Allāh bless him and his Companions with a blessing which will raise him who utters it to the utmost bounds of blessings and noble things.

Says the slave of Allāh<sup>3</sup> who needs the granting of the outpouring of the grace of Allāh (Exalted is He!), who seeks

<sup>1</sup> Qur., vii, 171. All mankind is said to have been brought forth from the loins of Adam and to have acknowledged dependence on Allāh. Cf. Al-Kalābādhī (Arberry), 166.

<sup>2</sup> *Tamkīn* is the highest stage on the mystic path. Al-Qushairī, *Risāla*, p. 48, in speaking of *tamkīn*, says: "One of the *shaiḫs* said: The journey of the seekers has reached self-mastery; and when they master the self, they have arrived." Cf. *Kashf al-mahjūb*, 371 f.; M. Smith, *Early Mysticism*, 203.

<sup>3</sup> "B" and "C" have 'Ubaidallāh, but this is probably an error, as it does not appear to have been one of the author's names. If it is to be retained, it should be translated: "The little slave of Allāh."

refuge in the presence of Allāh, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī—May Allāh (Exalted is He!) join him to His pious servants in the abode of fixity: One of the upright who turn towards Allāh in joy and grief asked me to write for his sake in particular and for the seekers in general, a letter about audition, its benefits, and the conditions of performing it, that its benefits might appear testified to in the Qur'ān, the Ḥadīth, and the deeds of the Companions, and to refute those who reject it, and about the things to be guarded against which are necessary for them by law. I adduce the Book, the usage (*sunna*),<sup>1</sup> what is handed down and what is perceived by the intellect as proof that he who says that audition is absolutely forbidden must acknowledge that the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) did what is forbidden, looked at what is forbidden, and confirmed others in what is forbidden. If that flutters in anyone's mind, he is an infidel by general consent, and the paths of the favours and the indication are closed to him.

So when I saw the genuineness of his desire, I acceded to his request and obtained his favour by writing this book, after seeking guidance from the presence of the bounteous King; and I have called it "The lightning-flashes of indication concerning the refutation of those who declare audition forbidden in general." No one must find fault with<sup>2</sup> what we have mentioned in this book without first of all understanding perfectly all that is in it; and then he will find no occasion at all for finding fault. We ask Allāh, the Mighty, to cause benefit by it. Verily He is the Near, the Answerer.

Know (Allāh adorn your heart with the light of obedience and enfold you in the truth of the testimony<sup>3</sup> and the inter-

<sup>1</sup> *Ḥadīth* is a tradition handed down orally; *sunna* is a usage, whether handed down orally or not. Cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> This translation of the verb *awrada*, followed by 'ala, which clearly suits the context, is not given in most dictionaries. I have found it only in Fagnan, p. 185.

<sup>3</sup> The declaration of faith, "There is no god but Allāh. Muḥammad is Allāh's apostle."

cession!) <sup>1</sup> that the audition of this party is a reference to the observation of strange secrets in the delicate poems which the *qawwāl* <sup>2</sup> recites while joined to the ecstasy which arises in the heart of the gnostic ('*ārīf*) who works and the novice (*murīd*) who is perfect. It induces them to put off resistance, to be drawn to the presence of the One, the Powerful, and to ponder delicate things and secrets. And for the removal of these veils they have chosen audition with beautiful voices at most times, after fulfilling the things which are commanded, <sup>3</sup> simply because man's nature is inclined to the voice, inherently disposed to produce things which benefit him and repulse injurious things by means of it. Then when there arises in him increase of arrangements of notes and spiritual analogies which are called music, it <sup>4</sup> prefers them to everything else. <sup>5</sup> So when a person hears the analogies which pertain to notes which include the realities (*ma'ānī*) which pertain to taste <sup>6</sup> and the truths which pertain to the Unity, the being inclines to all those, and every bodily member receives its portion separately. <sup>7</sup> The hearing [receives] the things of the unrestrained analogies; the sight, the analogies of the movements; the heart, the delicate things of the realities; and the intellect, the inner consciousness

<sup>1</sup> On the day of Judgment Muḥammad will intercede for his followers.

<sup>2</sup> The man who chants. He may chant poetry, or passages of the Qur'ān.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. the prescribed daily prayers. Mystical practices do not absolve one from performing the regular religious duties. Cf. *Qūt al-qulūb*, iii, 66 f. On the danger of Christian mystics considering themselves superior to ordinary rites, cf. E. Underhill, *The Essentials of Mysticism*, 153.

<sup>4</sup> The subject is man's nature, as the verb is feminine referring to *ṭabī'a* (nature).

<sup>5</sup> Lit. "to what is other than it". The pron. suff. is masc., and so refers to *ṣawt* (voice).

<sup>6</sup> Al-Qushairī, *Risāla*, p. 46, says *dhawq* (taste) and *shurb* (drinking) are terms used by mystics with reference to the fruits of divine revelations. Mystical practices give them taste of the realities (*dhawq al-ma'ānī*), and when they develop further, they attain to *shurb*. *Kashf al-mahjūb*, 392, says *dhawq* and *shurb* resemble one another, but the former refers to both pleasure and pain, while the latter refers only to pleasure.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Al-Qushairī, *Risāla*, 186, where audition is said to provide something for every part of the body.

of the unrestrained analogies.<sup>1</sup> When the bodily members are united in affairs which are suitable, the law of contention is removed, and the law of mutual agreement appears. Contention pertains to darkness and mutual agreement to light, and when the darkness is removed and the light spread abroad, matters and verities are revealed which could not be reached by a thousand efforts.

Now such audition as this must have the time, the place, and the brethren.<sup>2</sup> As for the time, it is in periods when their hearts are serene and they desire the association to seek the good pleasure of their Beloved, to strip their outer nature of sensual characteristics, to free their inner nature from attachment to seeking degrees and obtaining stations (*maqāmāt*), and to unify their secret thoughts when the gifts come down. So when they associate together in such a time as this, the lights of the hearts of some are reflected to the hearts of others, and they increase by that association in light, manifestation, clearness, and gladness.

And as for the place, it is such as hermitages and monasteries; and mosques are more fitting, since a mosque is built for the bodily worship<sup>3</sup> and the heart is created for gnosis and the appearance of Allāh (Exalted is He!) in it, as is said in the tradition (*ḵhabar*), "Neither my earth nor my heaven contains me, but the heart of my believing servant contains me"<sup>4</sup>; and it is the alighting-place of the divine lights. So when the possessor of a heart<sup>5</sup> is stirred in a mosque

<sup>1</sup> The various actions of mystics engaged in audition represent spiritual meanings. Those who engage in the practice attain to an understanding of the inner meaning of their actions.

<sup>2</sup> This saying is attributed to Al-Junaid (d. 297/910). *Al-Luma'*, 272; Al-Qushairi, *Risāla*, 181. Cf. D. B. Macdonald, *JRAS.*, 1902, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> The reference is to the prayers in which various postures are adopted and words are uttered. This differs from the more inward mystical states.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in *Qūt al-qulūb*, i, 175; ii, 155, with two slight verbal differences, and with some additional words in the latter.

<sup>5</sup> The reference is to a spiritual faculty by which one receives knowledge of God. Cf. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, pp. 50, 113, 159, 236. Cf. also *JRAS.* (1901), 717 f.

on account of the increase of the light of his heart and the serenity of his soul, it is more worthy than the moving of the body of another in bodily prayer without the presence [of the light]. And there is no disagreement that if one enters a mosque and occupies himself with formal prayer while his heart is laden by the Whisperer,<sup>1</sup> by imaginations, and by things which the Lawgiver<sup>2</sup> forbade, but is striving to remove those hindrances from his heart, entering the mosque is not at all forbidden. Nay, more than that, the entrance into a mosque of a wicked wrongdoer who consumes what is forbidden is confirmed, while it is known by the related facts that his heart is occupied with thought about wrongful acts towards people and taking their goods, but he is formally occupied with prayer. His entrance is not forbidden, so how can it be forbidden to him who desires the purity of his soul, the cleansing of his heart, and the serenity of his spirit by listening to wonderful things in speech and comprehending delicate things in poems which uphold the establishment of his relationship to the angels and the cutting off of his relationship to the devils? So when the people of serenity assemble in the place of worship desiring the union of the serenity of one another's hearts, the increase of their lights, and the making abundant of the serenity of their souls, their souls are strengthened by the light of that place, their states increase, and their essences become perfect, since every place which is built for worship has attached to it a spirit and a light from the unseen world and increases in sanctity and exaltation; like a stable, for when it is made into a mosque, honour and exaltation are attached to it and it becomes a place for angels after having been a place of uncleanness and devils. So sitting in it when it is a mosque produces illumination of the inner nature (*al-bāṭin*). The Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "The mosque is the house of every pious person."

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the Evil One. Cf. Qur. cxiv, 4.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. Muḥammad.

And as for the brethren, they are in three divisions : (1) The brethren of the name, i.e. those who share in the name of faith. Allāh (Exalted is He !) said, "The believers are only brethren."<sup>1</sup> So it is not allowable to associate with these always ; nay, they should be associated with for a moment to give them what they may benefit by. (2) And the brethren of will and love, like the common people who help them with their property and persons to attain the ways of serenity. And even if these are not characterized by their characteristics, it is allowable to associate with them, for by the power of will and sincerity they acquire some of the lights of the hearts of the people of serenity, just as a slender candle acquires some of the heat of the sun. Then when they return to the common people, others benefit by them. (3) And the brethren of serenity, ecstasies (*mawājīd*),<sup>2</sup> gnosis, seclusion, taste, longing, and perfection. Now these are the brethren in truth.

So when the time, the place, and the brethren are united, audition is necessary for the people of knowledge (*ʿirfān*), perfection, serenity, and union, just as the journeying of the ignorant to the learned is necessary to know the illumination of religion. And it is encouraged in the novices and allowable in the lovers,<sup>3</sup> in imitation of the people of serenity and perfection in their movements and quiescences. The Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "He who resembles a people is one of them ; and he who loves a people will be gathered along with them."<sup>4</sup> And Allāh (Exalted is He !) said, "O, you who believe, fear Allāh and be with the sincere ones"<sup>5</sup> ; i.e. if you are not of their number, then associate with them. And He (Exalted is He !) said, "Had Allāh known any good

<sup>1</sup> Qur. xlix, 10.

<sup>2</sup> The dictionaries usually omit this form. Dozy, *Supplément*, explains that it is a plural of *wajd*.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. advanced mystics.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Qūt al-qulūb*, iv, 213. Another version is given in ii, 181.

<sup>5</sup> Qur. ix, 120.



in them, He would have caused them to hear"<sup>1</sup>; i.e. truth, wisdom, warnings, and rebukes. Now His saying, "He would have caused them to hear" is too general to be Qur'ān, or Tradition, or poems, etc. And he (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "Verily, in poetry there is wisdom."<sup>2</sup> So Allāh does not cause him in whom He knows no good to hear wisdom, gnosis, warnings, and rebukes, and at the same time He does not cause him to hear what is good and true in poems and audition. And if one finds no truth, wisdom, and benefits in a matter which he has rejected, then the rejection is against himself.<sup>3</sup>

In the rejection of listening to singing and listening to the playing of the tambourine and to beautiful voices there is opposition to the usage (*sunna*); and belief in prohibiting them is unbelief, and to turn away and refrain from them is wickedness. A tradition is handed down in Al-Bukhārī and Muslim, from Al-Rubaiyī', daughter of Mu'awwidh ibn 'Afrā',<sup>4</sup> she said: The Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) came and sat on my bed when some<sup>5</sup> little girls were with me playing the tambourine and bewailing those of my forbears who had been killed at the battle of Badr.<sup>6</sup> Then one of them said, "And among us is a prophet who knows what will happen to-morrow." Then he (Allāh bless him, etc.) said "Leave this, and say what you were saying." And the poetry was,

"Peoples fought at Barqa Suhmud with striking and thrusting and Indian swords."

Then one of them turned to what she had been saying, "And among us is a prophet who knows what will happen to-morrow." Now this tradition indicates that he (Allāh bless him, etc.) listened to the sound of the tambourine and singing and

<sup>1</sup> Qur. viii, 23.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, v, p. 125; Ibn Māja, *Adab*, 41; Abū Dāwūd, *Adab*, 87.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. he really condemns himself by his attitude.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Al-Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, 48.

<sup>5</sup> B and P have the dual.

<sup>6</sup> The first battle which Muḥammad fought against the Meccans (A.H. 2).

poetry from the little girls, listening to whose voices when they are grown up is forbidden, unless there is some special reason<sup>1</sup>; yet he (Allāh bless him, etc.) was present listening to them. Now, *a fortiori*, listening to singing and the sound of the tambourine from a man is permitted; but what is one to say when he ordered the little girl to sing poetry and play the tambourine, since he said, "Say what you were saying"?

Now a matter pertains to necessity when it is freed from the contexts, like His saying (Exalted is He!), "Establish the prayer"<sup>2</sup>; or to encouragement, like His saying (Exalted is He!), "Write for them if you know any good in them"<sup>3</sup>; or to permission, like His saying (Exalted is He!), "And when you put off the *iḥrām*, hunt."<sup>4</sup> And here the necessity is possible, because he (Allāh bless him, etc.) ordered her by word of mouth to repeat what she was saying while he was listening to its purport. Now when he (Allāh bless him, etc.) asks a thing, listening to its purport, it is necessary to mention it; like His saying (Exalted is He!), "O, you who believe, respond to Allāh and the apostle when he summons you."<sup>5</sup> And following him is necessary according to His saying (Exalted is He!), "Say, If you love Allāh, then follow me."<sup>6</sup> And to ask one to express one's meaning in words which consist of singing is not generally necessary; so it [i.e. singing] remains permissible, according to His saying (Exalted is He!), "You have had in Allāh's apostle a good

<sup>1</sup> Women are secluded from men who are not very near relatives. An instance where there would be a special reason for listening to the voice of a woman who was not closely related, is when she comes with a case before a *qāḍī*.

<sup>2</sup> Qur. vi, 71.

<sup>3</sup> Qur. xxiv, 33.

<sup>4</sup> Qur. v, 3. The point of quoting these verses is that the first is a command which must be obeyed; the second recommends a course of action without making it obligatory; the third gives permission to do something without making it obligatory, or even recommending it.

<sup>5</sup> Qur. viii, 24.

<sup>6</sup> Qur. iii, 29.

example.”<sup>1</sup> And they have said in the fundamentals of jurisprudence that his bare action indicates permission according to Mālik,<sup>2</sup> encouragement according to Al-Shāfi'ī<sup>3</sup> and necessity according to Ibn Suraij,<sup>4</sup> Abū Sa'īd al-Iṣṭakhri<sup>5</sup> and Ibn Khairān.<sup>6</sup> He who holds to permission adduces as argument that what he (peace be upon him!)<sup>7</sup> did is neither disapproved, not prohibited. And the principle is, that there is no necessitating or encouragement without a context, so when there is none, permission is left. We say that what prevails in his action is necessitating and encouragement. He who holds to encouragement adduces as argument His saying (Exalted is He!), “You have had in Allāh's apostle a good example;” and that indicates preponderance. And the principle is, that there is no necessitating without a context, so when there is none, encouragement is left. And he who holds to necessitating adduces as argument His saying (Exalted is He!), “Say, if you love Allāh, then follow me and Allāh will love you<sup>8</sup>;” “And what the apostle has brought you, take it.”<sup>9</sup> And the Companions are agreed on the necessity of washing when the two places of circumcision meet together,<sup>10</sup> according to the saying of 'Ā'isha, the mother of the faithful (Allāh be pleased with her!),

<sup>1</sup> Qur. xxxiii, 21.

<sup>2</sup> The famous jurisconsult of Al-Madīna who gives his name to one of the four schools of canon law among Sunnis. d. 179 (795-6). Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, iii, 205 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Another jurisconsult who gives his name to one of the four schools. d. 204 (820). Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, iv, 252 ff.

<sup>4</sup> A great Shāfi'ī teacher. d. 306 (918). Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, ii, 421.

<sup>5</sup> A celebrated Shāfi'ī doctor, said to have been equal in calibre to Ibn Suraij. d. 328 (940). Cf. *Fihrist*, p. 300, where Iṣṭanḥarī appears by mistake; Ibn Khall. (De Slane), i, 374 f.

<sup>6</sup> A Shāfi'ī jurisconsult. He is one of those who felt it wrong to accept the office of *qādī*, and was imprisoned for his refusal when it was offered to him. (Cf. p. 115). d. 320 (932). Cf. Ibn Khall. (De Slane), i, 417 f.

<sup>7</sup> This phrase is used in the MSS. instead of the usual invocation of blessing on the Prophet.

<sup>8</sup> Qur. iii, 29.

<sup>9</sup> Qur. lix, 7.

<sup>10</sup> A euphemism for sexual intercourse. Cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, 704.

“Allāh’s apostle and I had intercourse, then we washed”<sup>1</sup>; while the Companions are agreed at the same time that there is no washing at the time of coming close together without an emission,<sup>2</sup> holding to his saying (Allāh bless him, etc.) “Water pertains only to water.”<sup>3</sup> In the same way, he (Allāh bless him, etc.) heard the sound of the tambourine and singing and asked it to be repeated; so according to what some of those who are versed in the fundamentals of jurisprudence say, it is necessary; according to what others say, it is encouraged; and according to what others say, it is permissible. But no one has held the view of prohibition.<sup>4</sup> So he who says that listening to singing and the sound of the tambourine is unlawful, has declared unlawful what is necessary, or encouraged, or permissible, and a mighty sin cleaves to him.

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim have related on the authority of ‘Ā’isha (Allāh be pleased with her!) that she said,<sup>5</sup> Abū Bakr (Allāh, exalted is He, be pleased with him!) came to see her when two little girls were with her playing the tambourine (and a version says they were singing what the Helpers<sup>6</sup> said to one another at the battle of Bu‘āth<sup>7</sup>), and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Muslim, i, 398; Ibn Māja, *Tayammum*, 21; i, p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ṭayālisi, 2185, 2449; Ibn Māja, i, p. 109n; Wensinck, *Handbook*, p. 86.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Muslim, i, 395. The commentary says some declare this tradition to be abrogated, and discusses different interpretations. Cf. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, iii, 29.

<sup>4</sup> In this paragraph the author makes it clear that he believes that what the Prophet did is either binding on his followers or to be recommended, though some say it merely indicates that an action is permissible. But, as he points out, these three are the only possible opinions. One cannot prohibit what the Prophet did.

<sup>5</sup> The tradition is obviously quoted from memory. Different forms of it are given in Al-Bukhārī, *Idāin*, 25; *Jihād*, 80; *Manāqib al-anṣār*, 46; Muslim, ii, 299 f., but the form given in the text does not agree with any of them in detail.

<sup>6</sup> The people of Al-Madīna who welcomed Muḥammad on the occasion of the *Hijra*.

<sup>7</sup> A place near Al-Madīna where a battle was fought between the Aus and the Khazraj, tribes of Al-Madīna, some years before the *Hijra*. Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, i, 768.

the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) was covered up with his garment. Then Abū Bakr <sup>1</sup> (Allāh, exalted is He, be pleased with him!) rebuked them, but the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) uncovered his face and said, "Leave them alone, Abū Bakr, for they are feast days." This tradition, by its clearness, indicates the permissibility of listening to the tambourine and singing and being present at them, and the refutation of those who reject them. And in it there is a demonstration of rebuke of him who rejects [audition] and a repulsing of him from rejection, because he (Allāh bless him, etc.) forbade the rejection of it. So he who says that listening to singing is forbidden, and playing the tambourine is forbidden, and being present at them is forbidden, is as though he said that the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) listened to what is forbidden, and prevented him who forbade what is forbidden. And he who believes that is an infidel by general consent.

If it is said that this is allowable on a feast day and no other, because he (Allāh bless him, etc.) restricted his permission to a feast day and on it, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal <sup>2</sup> says, We hold that it is generally agreed that particularizing the cause does not prevent the law from being general, like His saying (Exalted is He!), "Verily those who disbelieve, it is the same to them whether you warn them or do not warn them; they will not believe." <sup>3</sup> It came down concerning Abū Jahl, <sup>4</sup> Abū Lahab, <sup>5</sup> 'Utba, <sup>6</sup> Shaiba, <sup>7</sup> and 'Abdallāh

<sup>1</sup> The father of 'Ā'isha, Muḥammad's favourite wife, and later the first Caliph in Islām. d. 13 (634). Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, i, 80 ff.

<sup>2</sup> One of the jurisconsults who has given his name to a school of canon law among Sunnis. d. 241 (855). Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, i, 188 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Qur. ii, 5.

<sup>4</sup> An influential Makkan who opposed Muḥammad. Killed at the battle of Badr. Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, i, 83.

<sup>5</sup> An uncle of Muḥammad who was hostile to him and is denounced in the Qur'ān, *Sūra*, cxi. Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, i, 97 f.

<sup>6</sup> An opponent of Muḥammad in Makka. Killed at the battle of Badr. Cf. Muir, *The Life of Muḥammad* (ed. Weir), 60, 110, 228, etc.

<sup>7</sup> Another opponent who was killed at Badr. Ibid., 110, 222 ff.

ibn Salūl,<sup>1</sup> but the ordinance is general concerning all infidels. And in the tradition which has been mentioned there is an indication that listening to the tambourine, singing, and poems is allowable on days of worship and other days in every legalized state in which are joy of the heart and well-being of the inner nature.

And in the *Musnad* <sup>2</sup> of Aḥmad <sup>3</sup> [it is reported] that the Abyssinians were playing the tambourine in the presence of Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) and dancing and saying, "Muḥammad is an upright servant." Then he (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "What are they saying?" [The bystanders] said, They are saying, "Muḥammad is an upright servant." <sup>4</sup> This tradition by its clearness indicates the permissibility of being present at dancing and the permissibility of listening to the sound of the tambourine and singing. So if anyone says that dancing is forbidden, and playing the tambourine and singing are forbidden, that is an acknowledgment from him that the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) was present at what is forbidden and confirmed others in what is forbidden. And if that flutters in anyone's mind, he is an infidel by general consent.

But if he who disapproves says, "If this is allowable in the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.), why do you say it is

<sup>1</sup> A chief of the *Khazraj* in Al-Madīna, who opposed Muḥammad. His father was Ubaiy. Salūl was his mother. Ibid. See index. Al-Nasā'i, iv, 67 f., says that, in spite of the protests of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, Muḥammad prayed at 'Abdallāh's funeral. But he was the last unbeliever for whom he prayed, as *Sūra* ix, 85 f., was revealed soon afterwards prohibiting any such thing.

<sup>2</sup> Collections of tradition are *musnad* or *muṣannaf*. In the former (generally earlier) type, they are arranged according to the Companion to whom they are traced; in the latter according to subject matter.

<sup>3</sup> Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal.

<sup>4</sup> I have not discovered a form of the tradition which speaks of the Abyssinians playing the tambourine. Muslim, ii, 301, speaks of them *yazfinūna*, which the commentary explains as meaning dancing. Cf. *JRAS.*, 1902, p. 8. References to them playing in the mosque with spears in Muḥammad's presence are frequent. Cf. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, vi, 233, 242, etc.

allowable in us?" we say, The proof of its permissibility is that he (Allāh bless him, etc.) was a lawgiver, and it is not allowable for a lawgiver to conceal any matter concerning which there is a legal ordinance, according to His saying (Exalted is He!), "Verily, those who conceal the proofs and guidance we have sent down after we have made it clear to men in the book, those Allāh curses, and the cursers curse them"<sup>1</sup>; and according to His saying (Exalted is He!), "And when Allāh made a covenant with those who were brought the Scripture [saying], You must certainly make it clear to men and not conceal it. . . ."<sup>2</sup> So had the performance of dancing, and being present at audition, singing, and playing the tambourine been unlawful, it would have been necessary for him, by the ordinance of this verse, to draw other people's attention to it.<sup>3</sup> And had that been lawful for him, but not for others, it would have been necessary for him to make it clear, as has come down in the tradition (*khabar*) that he (Allāh bless him, etc.) forbade them to combine [a series of fasts], then did it himself. When they questioned him, he said, "I am not like one of you; I spend the night with my Lord, He giving me food and drink."<sup>4</sup> And since he was present at dancing, and listening to the tambourine and singing without prohibiting anyone from that, it indicates its absolute permissibility.

Now if he who disapproves says that dancing is sport (*li'b*) and sport is unlawful, because he (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "*Dad* (diversion) has nothing to do with me, and I have nothing to do with *dad*,"<sup>5</sup> and *dad* is sport, we say, This tradition applies particularly to forbidden sport, like backgammon, gambling, and such like, because it has come down in Al-Bukhārī from 'Ā'isha (Allāh be pleased with her!)

<sup>1</sup> Qur. ii, 154.

<sup>2</sup> Qur. iii, 184.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Al-Bukhārī, *Tauhid*, 46; Ahmad ibn Hanbal, vi, 241, 266.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaum*, 49, etc.; Ahmad ibn Hanbal, ii, 237.

<sup>5</sup> *Tāj al-Arūs*, ii, 346, and *Lisān al-'arab*, xviii, 277, give this tradition with the clauses inverted. Cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, 862.

as follows, The Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) was standing at the door of my house while the Abyssinians were playing with their spears in the mosque and I was looking at their play.<sup>1</sup> So if playing in the mosque is allowable in the presence of the Lawgiver, then, *a fortiori*, [it is allowable] in others. Therefore if anyone says that sport is absolutely unlawful, that is an acknowledgment on his part that the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) looked at what is unlawful and confirmed what is unlawful. And if that flutters in anyone's thought, he is an infidel by general consent.

And if he who disapproves says, It has come down in the tradition that "there is no sport except in three things, in shooting, and the horse, and a man's disporting himself with his wife",<sup>2</sup> we say, This is a restriction of the particular owing to being occupied with it, and that does not prove the prohibition of other things, as Allāh (Exalted is He!) said, "You are only a warner."<sup>3</sup> The word "only" is for restriction, and in it there is an indication that giving warning applies particularly to you because you are the seal of the prophets.<sup>4</sup> But that does not give the full sense of restriction, since he (Allāh bless him, etc.) was a conveyor of good news, an announcer, etc.; so it is the same here. He has mentioned these three with the restriction, either because there is in them what causes the completeness of the victory of religion in shooting and the horse, or mutual love and affection to establish love between husband and wife; and the child who arrives among people who love one another has an agreeable

<sup>1</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, 69.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Abū Dāwūd, *Jihād*, 23; *JRAS.* (1901), 247, where Al-Ghazālī comments on this tradition.

<sup>3</sup> Qur. xiii, 8.

<sup>4</sup> In Qur. xxxiii, 40, Muḥammad is called the "seal of the prophets", indicating that there will be no prophet after him. Al-Bukhārī, *Manāqib*, 18, represents Muḥammad as saying that his relationship to other prophets may be illustrated by a house in which one brick has been omitted. People who admire the house ask why the brick is missing. Muḥammad is like the brick which completes the building.



character, while the child who comes among people who are at variance has a bad character.

Allāh (Exalted is He!) said, "They who hear the word and follow the best of it, those are they whom Allāh guides, and those are the possessors of intelligence."<sup>1</sup> Now "the word" is too general to be Qur'ān, or tradition, or the story of the condition of the upright, or listening to poems.<sup>2</sup> Then Allāh praised him who listens to the word and follows the best of it, as having guidance and intelligence. It necessarily follows from this that if any do not listen to "the word" of singing which is understood in the general meaning of his saying, "who hear the word" which includes wisdom with a beautiful voice, Allāh does not guide them or give them intelligence. And he who is astray from guidance is erring, since error is the opposite of guidance; and he who is erring belongs to the people of hell, since He made error a characteristic of the Christians as He (Exalted is he!) said about them, "They have erred before and led many astray."<sup>3</sup> So it necessarily follows from this that he who does not hear "the word" of singing which is understood in the general meaning of His saying "who hear the word", which retains its widest sense and has nothing to particularize it respecting singing with the voice, is erring. And what are we to say when the three are combined in the presence of Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) when a woman said, "O apostle of Allāh, I have made a vow to play the tambourine in your presence"? Then he (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "If you have made a vow, play [it]." Then she played and sang, "The full moon has risen upon us from the passes of al-Wadā'; We must give thanks as long as one prays to Allāh."<sup>4</sup>

Now, by the ordinance of this tradition, he (Allāh bless

<sup>1</sup> Qur. xxxix, 19.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. "the word" cannot be restricted to any one class of subject.

<sup>3</sup> Qur. v, 81.

<sup>4</sup> Al-Ghazālī, *JRAS.* (1901), 224, 246, speaks of this verse being sung by women on another occasion.

him, etc.) has listened to "the word" of the woman with the voice, and to singing and the playing of the tambourine. So if anyone says that being present at audition, playing the tambourine, and dancing is unlawful, it is as though he said that the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) did what is unlawful and listened to what is unlawful. And if that flutters in anyone's thought, he is an infidel by general consent. And there is no dispute that a vow about something unlawful is not binding.<sup>1</sup>

Among the things which strengthen the permissibility of dancing is what is mentioned in the *musnad* of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal<sup>2</sup> on the authority of 'Alī<sup>3</sup> (Allāh honour his face!) that he said, I and Ja'far<sup>4</sup> and Zaid<sup>5</sup> came to the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) and he said to Zaid, "You are my client"; then he hopped. And he said to Ja'far, "You resemble my nature and character". He said, Then he hopped. Thereafter he said to me, "You pertain to me"; then I hopped. Hopping is a particular form of dancing, and the general is a part of the particular, i.e. it enters into it. So if a kind of dancing is allowable, it is all allowable.<sup>6</sup>

Then if he who disapproves says, "We admit the permissibility of hopping, but why do you say that doing much of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-aimān wa'l-nudhūr*, 28, 31, "If one makes a vow to obey Allāh, let him obey Him; but if one makes a vow to disobey Allāh, let him not disobey Him." Ibn al-'Arabī, *Futūḥāt*, ii, 368, says that the woman mentioned in the text was allowed to play the tambourine simply because she had made a vow. He adds that, though playing the tambourine is lawful, the best people avoid such practices. His school does not condemn singing because no prohibition has been laid down, but does not look on it with favour.

<sup>2</sup> i, 108. Cf. Al-Ghazālī's remarks on this tradition, *JRAS.* (1902), 8 f.

<sup>3</sup> 'Alī ibn abī Ṭālib, cousin of Muḥammad and fourth Caliph. d. 40/661. Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, i, 283 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Brother of 'Alī and one of Muḥammad's earliest converts. d. 8/629. Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, i, 993.

<sup>5</sup> Zaid ibn Hāritha, Muḥammad's adopted son. He has the distinction of being mentioned by name in the Qur'ān (xxxiii, 37). d. 8/629. Both Ja'far and he were killed at the battle of Mu'ta. Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, iv, 1194.

<sup>6</sup> This seems rather a doubtful argument, but it is qualified by what follows.

it is permissible?" we say, What proves the permissibility of doing much of it is that, when part of a thing is permissible and no prohibition is reported concerning the remainder, the whole remains permissible; since, had the other part been unlawful, it would have been necessary for him to make it clear, according to His saying (Exalted is He!), "And we have sent down the reminder to you, that you may make clear to men. . . ." <sup>1</sup> So had doing much of it been unlawful, it would have been necessary for him to make it clear; but since he did not prohibit them from that, it proves its permissibility.

Now these matters which we have mentioned are connected with the Book and the usage (*sunna*). And as to what is connected with that which is handed down, there is what Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī,<sup>2</sup> the author of *Qūt al-qulūb*, who is an authority among the people of Islām, related, that some of the Companions, like Ḥāritha<sup>3</sup> and 'Abdallāh ibn Ja'far<sup>4</sup> and others of the people of Makka were persevering in audition up to "our time", referring to the time of Abū Ṭālib himself.<sup>5</sup> And Al-Māwardī<sup>6</sup> has mentioned in *Al-ḥāwī al-kabīr* something to this effect, that one of the Companions heard that 'Abdallāh ibn Ja'far was devoted to audition and squandering his time on it; so Mu'āwiya<sup>7</sup> said to 'Amr ibn al-'Ās,<sup>8</sup> "Come and

<sup>1</sup> Qur. xvi, 46.

<sup>2</sup> d. 386 (996). Cf. Sarkis, *Dictionnaire*, 320 f.

<sup>3</sup> He may be Ḥāritha ibn Badr who, though of Tamīm, was enrolled as a member of Quraish. Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, ii, 269.

<sup>4</sup> Son of Ja'far, the brother of 'Alī (see p. 84). d. 80 (699-700). Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, i, 23.

<sup>5</sup> The quotation from *Qūt al-qulūb* is clearly made from memory. iii, 91, has a passage fairly similar to that given in the text: "The people of Al-Ḥijāz continue to listen to audition on the most excellent days of the year, i.e. the days on which Allāh ordered His servants to remember Him, the *tashrīq* days, from the time of 'Atā' ibn abī Rabāh to the present day." Further on 'Abdallāh ibn Ja'far is mentioned, but not Ḥāritha.

<sup>6</sup> d. 450 (1058). Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, iii, 416. *Al-ḥāwī al-kabīr fī'l-furū'* is a large work still unedited.

<sup>7</sup> The first Umayyad Caliph. d. 60 (680). Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, iii, 617 ff.

<sup>8</sup> The conqueror of Egypt. d. ca. 42 (663). Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, i, 334 f.

let us go to him, for his passion has got the better of his self-respect." Then they came to him and knocked at his door, and he ordered his [singing-]girls to be quiet, and gave them permission to enter. Then when he (i.e. Mu'āwiya) had sat down, he said, "O Abdallāh, order them to return to what they were engaged in." So they began to sing, and Mu'āwiya was moving his head and shaking his feet above the couch. Then 'Amr ibn al-Āṣ said, "Inasmuch as you chide it, make good your escape from it." He said, "Silence, 'Amr, verily the noble one is emotional."<sup>1</sup> Now he was one of the great ones of the Companions and the writer of the inspiration of Allāh's apostle<sup>2</sup> (Allāh bless him, etc.); and following the Companions necessarily produces guidance, since the Prophet (Allāh, bless him, etc.), said, "My Companions are like the stars; whichever of them you copy, you will be guided." So he who refuses to copy them rejects guidance for himself.

Now if he who rejects what is implied in the soundness of this saying which is handed down concerning the Companions says "I swear allegiance to<sup>3</sup> some of the Companions in all aspects except in audition," we say, This produces no benefit, because then his state with reference to the Companions will be like Abū Lahab's state with reference to the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.), for he may say, "I am a believer in what you say, Muḥammad, yet in all that you say I do not believe; but I declare you to be true in this." It will be said to him, "This does not profit you, because belief which is recognized is belief in all that the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) brought, not in part of it."<sup>4</sup> Similar is the position of him who follows the Companions in some of

<sup>1</sup> For stories of Mu'āwiya and 'Abdallāh ibn Ja'far cf. *Al-'iqd al-farīd*, iv, 98 f. The last story there has a passage like the end of the story given above.

<sup>2</sup> Mu'āwiya was employed by the Prophet as a secretary.

<sup>3</sup> ? Follow.

<sup>4</sup> *Qūt al-qulūb*, ii, 38, remarks that Muḥammad is the only one whose every word is to be accepted.

the states, with the exception of audition ; for it will not profit him.

But if he who disapproves says, "Abū Ḥanifa,<sup>1</sup> or the shaiḥ Abū'l-Bayān<sup>2</sup> prohibited audition, and I follow him in that," we say, He must first of all interpret Abū Ḥanifa's saying to the effect that that about which the aforementioned shaiḥ established its blessed wording was against listening to forbidden instruments and listening to singing which leads astray and causes diversion, not to singing absolutely ; otherwise certain things which ought to be guarded against apply to him.

I. One of them is either unbelief or profligacy, because the traditions, with reference to their coming down to us, are of three kinds, of which one is a tradition which is authenticated by a continuous chain of evidence both in root and in branch,<sup>3</sup> like the tradition of the Qur'ān, and prayer, and almsgiving, for he who denies it is an infidel. The second are traditions which come originally from individuals and are well-known in branch,<sup>4</sup> like the traditions of Al-Bukhārī and Muslim,<sup>5</sup> and he who rejects such is a profligate. The third is a tradition which has one line of authorities both in root and branch,<sup>6</sup> like the tradition, "I pertain to Allāh

<sup>1</sup> One of the four jurisconsults after whom a Sunnī school of canon law is named. d. 150 (767). Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, i, 90 f.

<sup>2</sup> I have found no reference to anyone of this name. One of the expounders of Abū Ḥanifa's teaching is intended.

<sup>3</sup> There is no break in the chain of authorities at any point, and such information is not dependent on one line of transmission.

<sup>4</sup> Those who hand down traditions from the Companions must be well-known authorities who are recognized as such. There should also be more than one line of transmission.

<sup>5</sup> The collections of Al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) and Muslim (d. 261/875), called *Al-Ṣaḥīḥān*, are generally recognized as the two most authoritative collections of tradition. Cf. *Journal Asiatique*, série ix, vol. 16 (1900), pp. 483 ff. ; Al-Nisābūrī, *Madkhal*, p. 7, where it is said that each Companion in these traditions has two authorities who hand down his traditions, and they also have two.

<sup>6</sup> When there is only one line of transmission, traditions are not so authoritative. Al-Nisābūrī (*ibid.*, 9 f.) gives this type as the second grade

and the believers pertain to me," etc. There is nothing against him who denies it. Now the traditions we have mentioned about the lawfulness of audition and the permissibility of listening to the sound of the tambourine, singing, and poems, come originally from individuals and are well known in branch; so if anyone denies these traditions, he is a profligate. And if he lays more weight on what is handed down concerning it on the authority of Abū Ḥanīfa, or someone else than on the word and action of the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) in that he believes that the citation concerning the absolute prohibition of audition is sound and true, while the action and word of the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) are unsound and untrue, he is an infidel by general consent.

II. The second of them is that deviation in the interpretation applies to him. That means that he interprets many of the sound traditions like the saying of the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) to the Arab when he prayed without completing his bowing and his prostration, "Pray, for you have not prayed."<sup>1</sup> The lawgiver was guarding prayer in its entirety, but he applies it to defective prayer, while it would have been defective only if he had said "Pray" and nothing more.<sup>2</sup> Similar is his saying, "When water reaches [the amount of] two vessels, it does not bear foulness."<sup>3</sup> It is interpreted as meaning that it cannot bear foulness, which is a departure from what is to be understood. One which is like it is, "When in authority. He does not follow Majd al-Dīn in his rather unusual statement that the Qur'ān is the first grade. Normally it is treated as different altogether from tradition; but Majd al-Dīn is looking at it from the point of view of its transmission.

<sup>1</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, 122.

<sup>2</sup> The argument seems to be that the man had actually gone through the whole ritual, omitting nothing; but he had not performed the *rukū'*, and the *sujūd* in quite the proper manner. The tradition quoted in n. 1 explains how they should be done. If the Prophet had said simply "Pray", it would have indicated that the man had omitted something, and so his prayer would not be accepted. But he added "for you have not prayed" to show the man that although he had gone through the whole ritual, there was something wrong.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Al-Ṭayālīsī, 1954; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, ii, 12, 38.

water reaches [the amount of] a mighty sea, it does not bear foulness." Similarly he said here, "that is like it." But if he interprets the latter in the same way as the former, he disagrees completely with the general consensus. A similar saying of the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) is, "Every marriage which does not take place with a guardian and two just witnesses is debauchery, debauchery, debauchery."<sup>1</sup> It is interpreted as applying to a young girl and a slave woman.<sup>2</sup> Also his saying (Allāh bless him, etc.), "The widow has more right over herself,"<sup>3</sup> is interpreted as applying to a free, adult woman. And other traditions [might be quoted]. Now if it is permissible to interpret traditions related to the Prophet in a manner with which no other *mujtahid*<sup>4</sup> would agree, then what Abū Ḥanīfa said, or the citation concerning it, if it is established as prohibiting singing and audition, must, *a fortiori*, be interpreted as applying to listening to depravity and licentiousness.

III. The third is that the removal of Abū Ḥanīfa (Allāh be pleased with him!) from the category of the saints and the placing of him in the category of those who reject the people of truth applies to him. That is because Allāh's perfect saints,<sup>5</sup> the possessors of the stations,<sup>6</sup> listened to audition and were stirred by it, as is mentioned in their biographies.

<sup>1</sup> Traditions similar to this are to be found in Al-Ṭayālīsī, 1463, and Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, vi, 47, 66. *Bāṭil* (invalid) is used instead of *safāh* (debauchery), and there is no reference to the two witnesses.

<sup>2</sup> Al-Tirmidhī, i, p. 206, disagrees with this, saying that a *walī* is necessary for every marriage.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Abū Dāwūd, *Nikāḥ*, 25; Al-Tirmidhī, i, 206; Mālik, *Muwatta'*, p. 197. Al-Tirmidhī adds the explanation that, although a woman who has been married previously has the right to decide with regard to another marriage, she cannot be legally married without a *walī*.

<sup>4</sup> One who has a right to form a legal judgment which others should follow. Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, ii, 448 f.

<sup>5</sup> Lit. "friends". Cf. Al-Niffārī, *Mawāqif*, 61, where it is said that the saint gets this name because his heart is a friend of Allāh and nothing else. "It is my temple in which I speak."

<sup>6</sup> Stages on the mystic way through which the mystic must pass. Cf. Al-Qushairī, *Risāla*, 37 f; *Kashf al-mahjūb*, 180 ff., 370 f.

So should they say that Abū Ḥanifa rejected all audition, that would be a rejection of the saints. But Abū Ḥanifa was one of the saints, and a saint does not reject another saint like himself, for he would then be rejecting himself. Now he who rejects himself is seeking perfection, not perfect, while the *mujtahid* is perfect. So should Abū Ḥanifa's saying be established as prohibiting audition, that would be interpreted as listening to instruments of diversion,<sup>1</sup> depravity, licentiousness, and falsehood, and no one disputes about that.

IV. The fourth of them is that abandoning what reliability stipulates regarding its soundness and choosing what that does not stipulate about it applies to him. That is because the taking of jurisprudence from books of jurisprudence does not stipulate reliability in the copyist, or in him who hands it down. Now the copyist may possibly add or omit something in the first or second copy, in which case reliance cannot be resolutely placed on that, contrary to the traditions connected with the Prophet, for reliability is stipulated concerning the soundness of their transmission.<sup>2</sup> And he who abandons a saying which stipulates reliability concerning its soundness and chooses a saying which does not stipulate reliability concerning its soundness, is a fool, for the fool is he who does not choose the best for his religious and secular affairs, and no attention is paid to what a fool says.

Then if he who disapproves says, "These traditions which come down concerning it come from individuals and do not give a convincing argument, so we do not act according to them," we say, You must not act according to any tradition which comes from individuals which they adduce as proof to verify the laws of jurisprudence; for if they do not act according to those traditions which we have mentioned, they

<sup>1</sup> *Malāhī*. These refer here to such musical instruments as are condemned by religious people.

<sup>2</sup> Numerous regulations have been drawn up to ensure reliable transmission of traditions. Cf. *Journal Asiatique*, série ix, vol. 17 (1901), pp. 195 ff., 524 ff.; vol. 18 (1901), pp. 61 ff.



must not act according to traditions which come from individuals concerning jurisprudence ; in which case all the laws of jurisprudence would be made invalid to them.<sup>1</sup>

And they adduce as argument His saying (Exalted is He!) "Their prayer at the House was only *mukā'* and *taṣḍiya*,"<sup>2</sup> and *mukā'* is whistling, and *taṣḍiya* is striking one palm on another from which a sound issues. We say, This argument is not congruous, because He forbade them from whistling and hand-clapping at the House, and it does not necessarily follow from the prevention of something in a sacred state that it is to be prevented in positions which are different from that. On this account, a woman may strike the palm of one hand on the back of the other during the prayer when some trouble comes upon her, but it is not permissible in any other circumstances.<sup>3</sup> And since the House is honourable and the circling round it is prayer, He prevented them from that. And further, He said, "Their prayer was only . . .", but did not say, "Their audition was only. . . ." So it is not allowable to deduce from the prevention of hand-clapping round the House its prevention in all places.

And they adduce as argument also His saying (Exalted is He!), "Among men are those who buy sportive talk to lead astray from Allāh's way without knowledge,"<sup>4</sup> and "sportive talk" is singing. We say, It is to be understood from His saying "sportive talk" that it is permissible to listen to true talk, whether it be Qur'ān, poetry, or something

<sup>1</sup> There are not traditions of the fullest degree of authority on all subjects ; so the argument is that, if only traditions of the highest grade are to be applied to the subject of audition, the same principle should hold good for all matters dealt with by the law of Islām. But the author exaggerates, for all the laws would not be invalidated if only thoroughly reliable traditions were accepted ; but some would.

<sup>2</sup> Qur. viii, 35. "The House" is the Ka'ba.

<sup>3</sup> Abū Dāwud, *Ṣalāt*, 166 (cf. Al-Nasā'i, viii, 243 f.) says that when anything happens to a man during prayer, he should say, "Praise be to Allāh." A woman should clap her hands. This is explained as striking the palm of the left hand with two fingers of the right.

<sup>4</sup> Qur. xxxi, 5.

else; and we have mentioned sound traditions about the permissibility of listening to the sound of the tambourine, singing, and poetry. A tradition has come down which says, "In poetry there is wisdom"<sup>1</sup>; and this text indicates that "sportive talk" applies particularly to audition which leads astray and diverts from truth and worship, and what removes the worshipper far from Allāh (Exalted is He!); now what is not like that remains permissible.<sup>2</sup> And further, if a text comes down which gives a general sense, one must first seek something which particularizes it, and if he finds it, he must act upon it; otherwise he must interpret it in a general sense. Take for example the tradition, "Scatter dust in the faces of the panegyrists."<sup>3</sup> Then it has come down that the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) was praised and eulogized. An example is the saying of Ka'b ibn Zuhair<sup>4</sup> (Allāh be pleased with him!),

"Su'ād has gone and my heart to-day is infatuated,  
Enslaved by her trace, unransomed, enchained";

until he reached in recitation his saying,

"[I am informed] that Allāh's apostle has threatened me,  
but forgiveness is hoped for with Allāh's apostle."

Then Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) cast his striped mantle to him. So it is necessary to apply his saying, "Scatter dust in the faces of the panegyrists," to praise of falsehood and depravity, and to the depraved person. Similarly here it is necessary to apply "sportive talk" to falsehood, depravity, and instruments of diversion; and what does not come into that category is assuredly permissible.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 75, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> For Ibn abī'l-Dunyā's treatment of this passage cf. p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Abū Dāwud, *Adab*, 9; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, vi, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Son of Zuhair, author of one of the *Mu'allaqāt*. He came to make submission to Muḥammad in the year 9 (630/1), and recited in his honour his famous poem, *Bānat Su'ād*, from which the verses quoted above are taken. Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, ii, 584. This poem is included in Nöldeke, *Delectus*, 110 ff.

Then if he who disapproves says, "The audition of the *faqīrs*<sup>1</sup> is allowable according to the conditions you have mentioned, but the audition of the common people is unlawful," we say, No one has a right to declare anything lawful or unlawful in the law as long as the lawgiver has laid down no statute about it, according to what has come down in the tradition, "The lawful is clear and the unlawful is clear, and between them there are doubtful matters."<sup>2</sup> And Allāh (Exalted is He!) said, "And do not say of the falsehood which your tongues describe, 'This is lawful and this is unlawful,' to invent falsehood against Allāh."<sup>3</sup> So if anyone says that audition is absolutely unlawful, he has declared forbidden in the law something about which no statute has come down, since no statute forbidding audition and dancing has come down in the Book of Allāh (Exalted is He!), or in the usage of Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.), or in the words of the Companions (Allāh be pleased with them!). And he who declares to be forbidden in the law anything which is not in it, has invented something against Allāh, and he who invents anything against Allāh is an infidel by general agreement. Further, regarding the audition and dancing of the common people, their recreations in gardens compare with the audition and dancing of the Abyssinians in the presence of Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.),<sup>4</sup> and there is no dispute about the permissibility of that; and their movements in audition are similar. And further, [it is said] in the tradition, "He who resembles a people is one of them."<sup>5</sup> And the companions of the pure truth preceded people in it.<sup>6</sup> And the saints of Allāh (Exalted is He!), like Al-Junaid<sup>7</sup> and others, were moved in audition,

<sup>1</sup> Lit. "poor men". This name is applied to the mystics. Cf. *Kashf al-mahjūb*, 58 f.

<sup>2</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Īmān*, 39; *Buyū'*, 2; Abū Dāwud, *Buyū'*, 3; Al-Tirmidhī, i, 227.

<sup>3</sup> Qur. xvi, 117.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. p. 80.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. p. 74.

<sup>6</sup> i.e. people of recognized piety have engaged in audition in earlier times.

<sup>7</sup> A celebrated mystic. d. 297 (910). Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, i, 1063.

as is related about them in Al-Qushairī's *Risāla*<sup>1</sup> and in other books. So if one of the common people is moved in audition, in resemblance to them, seeking some of their inheritance, he is like them. And it has come down in the tradition, "The associate of these people is not made miserable by them."<sup>2</sup>

Then if he who disapproves says, "When anyone goes into an ecstasy in audition for love of a human being or his form, it is unlawful," we say, There has come down in the tradition, "By Him in whose hand is my soul, you will not enter Paradise till you believe, and you will not believe till you love one another. Shall I not guide you to a thing by doing which you will love one another? Increase the salutation among yourselves."<sup>3</sup> And there is a reading "you are guided" (instead of "you love one another"). And there is also in the tradition, "On the Day of Resurrection Allāh (Exalted is He!) will call, 'Where are those who love one another for my glory?' Then they will have pulpits of light, and the prophets and martyrs will envy them."<sup>4</sup> So when two people love one another for the sake of Allāh (Exalted is He!) and one of them is moved on account of love for the other for the sake of Allāh (Exalted is He!), it is allowable, since he does not acknowledge anything vain.<sup>5</sup>

Then if he who disapproves says, "The common person is moved only by sport and vanity, and this kind of sport is unlawful," we say, It has come down in the tradition, "When any words come forth from your brother, do not give them an evil interpretation when you can find a good

<sup>1</sup> An important treatise on mysticism. There is a chapter on audition (pp. 173-186). Al-Qushairī d. 465 (1072). Cf *Enc. of Islām*, ii, 1160.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Al-Bukhārī, *Da'wāt*, 67. Al-Sarrāj allows the common people to practise audition provided no instruments which have evil associations are used. Cf. *Al-Luma'*, 277.

<sup>3</sup> Muslim, i, 143; Al-Tirmidhī, *Isti'dhān*, 1; Abū Dāwud, *Adab*, 131; Ibn Māja, *Adab*, 11.

<sup>4</sup> Al-Tirmidhī, ii, 63. Cf. also Ahmad ibn Hanbal, v, 328.

<sup>5</sup> There is a tradition given by Abū Dāwud (*Adab*, 113), which says: "If a man loves his brother, let him tell him he loves him."

interpretation for them." So when we see a unitarian believer, be he one of the common people or someone else, moved in audition without acknowledging anything vain, it is necessary to treat his action as genuine. But if what is suspected is as was suspected, that is the state of affairs<sup>1</sup>; otherwise, the matter of his faith pertains to Allāh (Exalted is He!), not to the one who looks at him. And further, as the schools are free, and every *mujtahid* chooses what prevails over his opinion after his consideration of the texts, and every *mujtahid* has a following, it is not fitting for anyone to favour one man absolutely. So according to this, audition is altogether permissible among the adherents of the *Shāfi'ī* school,<sup>2</sup> so there is no blame on any of their followers who practise it; just as there is no retribution taken from him who commits fornication with a woman servant, according to Abū Ḥanīfa, so there is no blame on any of his followers who do that.<sup>3</sup> But should a *Shāfi'ī* judge know of it, he would punish him, and not pay any attention to his (Abū Ḥanīfa's) decision (*ijtihād*) on account of how the Book deals with that, where Allāh (Exalted is He!) says, "The fornicatress and the fornicator, give each of them a hundred lashes"<sup>4</sup>; and only one like him opposes the text.<sup>5</sup> And the Ḥanafī has no text for his prohibition [of audition] from the Book, or the usage, or the general agreement of the people; so their rejection of that is a rejection of the lawgiver, as we have declared, and the same applies to all the schools.

<sup>1</sup> If he is clearly in the wrong, one may take him to task.

<sup>2</sup> Al-Qushairī, *Risāla*, 179, says that although Al-Shāfi'ī does not prohibit audition, he considers it objectionable. *Minhāj*, 515, says the only song to which one may listen is that of the camel drivers. All other unaccompanied singing is disapproved. Even a tambourine is allowable only at a marriage, a circumcision, or a festival. Cf. Farmer, *History*, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> The reference is to a servant employed in one's household. Cf. *Hidāya*, ii, 20 f. For *Shāfi'ī* rulings on the subject cf. *Minhāj*, 439.

<sup>4</sup> Qur. xxiv, 2.

<sup>5</sup> The Ḥanafī school is here declared to go against the clear teaching of the Qur'ān.

Then if he who disapproves says, "We grant the permissibility of playing the tambourine which has no metal plates (*sunūj*), for the tambourine of the Arabs was like that, but we do not admit the permissibility of playing the tambourine with the metal plates," we say, The permissibility of playing the tambourine which has no metal plates has been established by the traditions we have mentioned, and nothing has come down regarding the metal plates, either by way of prohibition or of disapproval, so it remains permissible. For if a permissible thing which has not been heard of is joined to a permissible thing which is heard of, the whole is permissible provided no context points to the combination of them being unlawful<sup>1</sup>; like the marriage of two sisters, for marrying each one of them separately is permissible, but having them both as wives at the same time is unlawful.<sup>2</sup>

As for the Persian flute (*qaṣab*), nothing has come down about it, so it remains permissible. But as for the reed-pipe (*mizmār*), it is forbidden to listen to it, on account of what has come down in the tradition that he (Allāh bless him, etc.) heard the sound of the *mizmār* and stopped his ears.<sup>3</sup>

And further, hostility to Allāh (Exalted is He!) applies to him who disapproves of dancing, audition, playing the tambourine, and listening to singing, and he who fights against Allāh (Exalted is He!) is an infidel by general consent. That is because there has come down in the sound tradition, "He who is hostile to a saint of mine has come forth against me in warfare."<sup>4</sup> There is no disagreement among the *mujtahids* about the existence of saints among them, and the people of all times are agreed about the soundness of the sainthood

<sup>1</sup> For a similar argument in another connection cf. *JRAS.*, 1901, p. 215.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Minhāj*, 292; *Hidāya*, i, 78 ff. In the latter it is held that one cannot marry a wife's sister at any time. Mālik, *Muwatta'*, 203, allows marriage with a wife's sister after the wife's death or divorce.

<sup>3</sup> Abū Dāwud, *Adab*, 52. Cf. p. 30, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ibn Māja, *Fitan*, 16.

of Al-Junaid,<sup>1</sup> Al-Shiblī,<sup>2</sup> Ma'rūf al-Karkhī,<sup>3</sup> 'Abdallāh ibn Khafif,<sup>4</sup> and others of those who are mentioned in *Tadhkira al-auliya'*,<sup>5</sup> etc. And it is verified concerning them in their biographies that they went into ecstasies in audition and danced to destroy from their hearts what was apart from Allāh.<sup>6</sup> So he who declares audition to be absolutely unlawful is as though he said these saints did what is unlawful; and he who attributes to them dealings with what is unlawful is hostile to them in word, deed, and belief; and he who is hostile to them has come forth against the Truth (Exalted is He!); and he who comes forth against the Truth (Exalted is He!) is an infidel by general consent, and "has brought down on himself anger from Allāh, and his resort is Jahannam, and evil is the journey".<sup>7</sup>

It is then established from the declarations, proofs, and traditions we have mentioned that audition is absolutely permissible, and that he who disapproves of it is either an infidel, or a profligate. And this is rather a matter of approval regarding the novices,<sup>8</sup> necessary regarding the saints of

<sup>1</sup> See p. 93, n. 7.

<sup>2</sup> d. 334 (945). Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, iv, 360 f.

<sup>3</sup> d. 200 (815-6). Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, iii, 307.

<sup>4</sup> d. 372 (982). Cf. *Kashf al-mahjūb*, 158, 247 ff.

<sup>5</sup> The only book of this name with which I am familiar is a Persian work by 'Attār (d. 627/1230). As Majd al-Dīn died in 520 (1126), one can only conclude that, if this is the book referred to, the passage is not a part of Majd al-Dīn's original work. The saints mentioned are all dealt with in 'Attār's work. If this passage is part of Majd al-Dīn's work, one must assume that he is either referring to some unknown book, or using the phrase in a general sense with reference to biographies of saints. But it is possible that the whole paragraph has been added by a later hand, as it is in the style of pp. 87-90, and so does not seem in place here. Against this it may be said that the last sentence makes a very effective finish to this section of the tractate.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Nicholson, *Studies*, 58, where Abū Sa'īd ibn abī'l-Khair is quoted as saying that dancing dissipates lust in young men. See also p. 237.

<sup>7</sup> Qur. viii, 16.

<sup>8</sup> Frequently those who approve of audition feel that novices should not indulge in it too frequently. Cf. *Al-Luma'*, 287 f. and *Al-Qushairī, Risāla*, 218, where instruction is given regarding the practice of audition by novices. *J.R.A.S.* (1901), 709, expresses the view that there is danger in audition to the novice. See also Introduction, p. 6.

Allāh (Exalted is He!) with reference to their stations, because they are detached from what is other than Allāh towards Allāh (Exalted is He!). Allāh (Exalted is He!) said, "They seek His face."<sup>1</sup> As often as they come upon anything of the forms, they apply it to the hidden meanings,<sup>2</sup> as he (Allāh bless him, etc.) said concerning Usaid ibn Al-Ḥudair<sup>3</sup> when he said, "O apostle of Allāh, I was reciting Sūra *Al-Kahf*<sup>4</sup> last night, and lo, over my head was a cloud in which was the likeness of lamps"; he said, "That was the *sakīna*,"<sup>5</sup> and he did not treat the cloud as a mere cloud. *Sakīna* is [of the form] *fa'īla* from [the root] *sukūn*, and it is repose in the lights of the unseen world which come down upon one because of one's going backwards and forwards and passing their forms, which are the words of the Qur'ān.<sup>6</sup> And similarly the saints of Allāh (Exalted is He!) apply the forms to the realities (*ma'ānī*) on account of their abandoning the ranks of the forms and their moving in the ranks of the branches of gnosis. So among them the tambourine is a reference to the cycle of existing things (*dā'ira al-akwān*); the skin which is fitted on to it is a reference to general existence (*al-wujūd al-muṭlaq*), the striking which takes place on the tambourine is a reference to the descent of the divine visitations (*wāridāt*) from the innermost arcana (*bāṭin al-butūn*) upon general existence to bring forth the things pertaining to the essence from the interior to the exterior, the five small bells (*jalājil*) are a reference to the prophetical

<sup>1</sup> Qur. vi, 52; xviii, 27.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. they seek the inner meaning of external things.

<sup>3</sup> Son of a chief of the Aus in Al-Madīna. He was present at the second pledge of the 'Aqaba. He supported Muḥammad in several battles, but was absent from Badr. He was reckoned among the chief Companions. d. 20/641. Cf. Ibn Sa'd, iii, 2, pp. 135 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Sūra, xviii.

<sup>5</sup> A form borrowed from the Hebrew *shekina*. In Arabic it is commonly explained as meaning peace of soul. This story seems to be made up of a combination of two traditions. Cf. Muslim, ii, 247 f.

<sup>6</sup> The words of the Qur'ān were external things which had an inner meaning for Usaid.



ranks, the saintly ranks, the apostolic ranks, the khalifate ranks, and the imāmate ranks, and their combined sound is a reference to the appearance of the divine revelations and unrestricted knowledge by means of these realities in the hearts of the saints and the people of perfection. And the soul of the reality is the form of the rank of the Truth (Exalted and holy is He !), since it is He who sets the things in motion, brings them into existence, and enriches them. And the voice of the singer is a reference to the divine (*rabbānīya*) life which comes down from the innermost arcana to the levels (*marātib*) of the spirits, the hearts, and the consciences (*asrār*). The flute (*qaṣab*) is a reference to the human essence, and the nine holes are a reference to the openings in the outer frame (*zāhir*), which are nine, viz. the ears, the nostrils, the eyes, the mouth, and the private parts (*al-qubl wa'l-dubr*). Nine other holes are inverted from the exterior to the interior, viz. the armpits, the inner part of the elbows, under the knees, the inner part of the wrists and the navel. And there are nine ranks inside [the body] viz. the heart, the mind, the spirit, the soul, the conscience, the human essence, the memory, the interior of the heart (*fu'ād*), and the pericardium (*shaqhāf*). And the breath which penetrates the flute is a reference to the light of Allāh (Exalted is He !) penetrating the reed of man's essence. And their being moved in audition is a reference to the bird of human reality in the station of the eternal<sup>1</sup> address, "Am I not your Lord ?"<sup>2</sup> and to the excitement of the spirit on account of the cage of the body being broken and its return to the true home, since he said, "Love of home pertains to faith," i.e. the home of the spirits in which the spirit was brought into existence, since He said, "And I breathed into him of my spirit,"<sup>3</sup> And the dancing is a reference to the circling of the spirit round the cycle of existing

<sup>1</sup> *Azālī*, which is a very difficult word to translate. It is an adjective formed from *azal*, which means eternity from the point of view of its having no beginning. *Abad* means eternity from the point of view of its having no end.

<sup>2</sup> Qur. vii, 171. See p. 69, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Qur. xv, 29; xxxviii, 72.

things on account of receiving the effects of the unveilings and revelations; and this is the state of the gnostic. The whirling is a reference to the spirit's standing with Allāh in its inner nature (*sirr*) and being (*wujūd*), the circling of its look and thought, and its penetrating the ranks of existing things; and this is the state of the assured one. And his leaping up is a reference to his being drawn from the human station to the unitive station and to existing things acquiring from him spiritual effects and illuminative helps.<sup>1</sup> Then when his spirit goes forth from the veil and reaches the ranks of what is right, his head is uncovered. Then when he is detached from what is other than Allāh and reaches Allāh (Exalted is He!), he takes off his clothing; and if the singer is the possessor of a state (*hāl*)<sup>2</sup> and a station (*maqām*), he throws his clothing to him; but if he is not such, throwing it to him is a wrong, because the garment of the possessor of a state is the form of his state, and only he who is of his rank deserves to receive his state.<sup>3</sup> Then if he rises to a higher station and the singer is speaking in a lower station, he suggests to him a verse suitable for his state.<sup>4</sup> But if something about which he sang becomes dubious to him and his state comes to a stop, he takes someone else and circles with him that their states may be united and his bond may be loosed.<sup>5</sup> Then when he becomes thirsty and asks for a drink

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Kashf al-mahjūb*, 416, "In short, all foot-play is bad in law and reason, by whomsoever it is practised, and the best of mankind cannot possibly practise it; but when the heart throbs with exhilaration and rapture becomes intense and the agitation of ecstasy is manifested and conventional forms are gone, that agitation is neither dancing nor foot-play nor bodily indulgence, but a dissolution of the soul."

<sup>2</sup> The distinction between a "state" and a "station" is that the "state" is a divine gift, whereas the "station" is attained by human effort. Cf. Al-Qushairī, *Risāla*, 38; *Kashf al-mahjūb*, 181 f.

<sup>3</sup> For the practice of throwing off garments (and also of tearing them), cf. *Kashf al-mahjūb*, 417 f.; *JRAS.* (1902), 9 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *JRAS.* (1901), 744.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *JRAS.* (1902), 11 f., where it says that those who perform the dance together should experience the same "state". On the problem of people in one state not understanding people in another cf. Al-Kalābādhī, *Ta'arruf* (Arberry), 77.

of water, it indicates that he is overpowered, because the station of the spirit is the station of serenity and dryness from the lights; so when he becomes thirsty it indicates that he has returned to the station of the body, since the station of the spirit is [that of] getting nourishment from the unseen, so that it does not require the seen; while the station of the body is [that of] getting nourishment from the form. So when he returns from the unseen to the seen, he asks for water, and that indicates defect.

As for the signification understood by the intellect which indicates the nobility of audition, its nature is contrast from various points of view.

I. One is that the states which are connected with a thing are of two kinds, movement and quiescence. Movement is a characteristic of spirits and inner natures, and quiescence is a characteristic of bodies and crass forms. And heat and rendering delicate are among the requisites of movement, while solidification and deterioration are among the requisites of quiescence. On this account, should water remain in its jar, even though it were a large quantity, it would deteriorate with the passage of time; while if it is flowing a little, it does not deteriorate. So when a measured sound affects the inner being, it moves the spirit to seek ascent, and the body is moved by the movement of the spirit. Then heat arises within it and the superfluities of its nature are loosed, and marks which are seen appear in its heart; and that is by the agency of audition.

II. The second is that sensual nourishment strengthens the body, which results from coming in contact with food, while spiritual nourishment strengthens the heart and the inner nature. That arises from coming in contact with the instruments of bringing down spirit, light, and life from the unseen world. And it is the stirring of the spirit by listening to wonderful realities in delicate poems and the abandonment of the attachments of created things, and being drawn to the spiritual stages (*manāzil*). Now the instrument of obtaining

these lights is the association of the brethren and the seeking of help from Allāh, the Merciful.

III. The third is that audition detaches one from external things and inclines one to accept the hidden lights and secrets. Then as often as one's ecstasy (*wajd*) increases in audition, one's travelling and flying in the world of spirits increases. And when one's increase is abundant, the heart is made fine, and one receives some of the marks of the outpouring and revelations of Allāh (Exalted is He!); then one attains the station of union (*wuṣūl*) without a new religious exercise (*riyāḍa*).

IV. The fourth is that the sound *Huwā*<sup>1</sup> is penetration from the exterior to the interior and is joined to the heart; then the heart and the spirit are joyful by means of the variation of measured notes and by the number of the realities which come down upon the spirit in the ranks of existing things. So when the spirit follows the body in movement and the body follows the spirit in presence, light, and joy it is detached from suppositions and imaginations, and the realities which are combined in the spirit penetrate the bodily powers. Then when the body is drawn to the station of the spirit the veil is removed, and it sees those realities and truths all at once. This is the station of the perfection of actual vision which does not arise by many religious exercises.

V. The fifth is that audition is quiescence in the internal and movement in the external; and other acts of worship, except fasting, are a movement in the external, and the movement in the external corresponds to abundance. So as often as the movement is abundant in audition and quiescence becomes strong in the heart, it is detached from everything but Allāh (Exalted is He!), ecstasy appears in it, and it is drawn to the Unique Presence. Then by the sight of the inner nature it sees the divine worlds and comprehends

<sup>1</sup> The repetition of the word *huwā* (He) with lengthening of the second vowel, is a mystic practice.

the divine (*rabbānīya*) secrets which intellects and understandings cannot grasp. And as for the three pillars,<sup>1</sup> like prayer, pilgrimage, and the two testimonies, even if they are a movement in the external and the internal, yet sometimes a spiritual and facial quiescence which leads its possessor to annihilation (*fanā'*) and immortality (*baqā'*)<sup>2</sup> appears between two movements. As for fasting, it is a quiescence in the external and the internal, and sometimes a movement from Allāh, in Allāh, to Allāh comes forth between two periods of quiescence, and that is the complete liberation and the universal law.<sup>3</sup> So the inner nature (*sirr*) of audition in its various ranks (*marātib*) comprises the verities of the five pillars; for prayer, pilgrimage, and the two testimonies pertain to external ranks, and fasting and almsgiving to internal ranks; and sometimes a man gets from audition perfections such as are not obtained from persistence in many acts of devotion.

VI. The sixth is that audition comprises the perfect states which are the limits of the stations. Its *sīn* and *mīm*<sup>4</sup> indicate *samm* (poison), meaning that the inner nature of audition is like poison which causes one to die to the attachments of things which are other than Allāh and causes one to reach the unseen stations. Its *'ain* and *mīm* indicate *ma'a* (with), meaning that audition causes one to reach the Essential, divine co-existence (*ma'īya*). He (Peace be upon him!)<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Islām there are five pillars of practical religion: (1) The testimony that Allāh is the only God and Muhammad is His prophet; (2) prayer; (3) almsgiving; (4) fasting; (5) pilgrimage.

<sup>2</sup> These are technical mystical terms referring to the death of the self and life in God. Cf. Al-Qushairi, *Risāla*, 43 f.; *Kashf al-mahjūb*, 242 ff.; Nicholson, *Studies*, 55, 214 f., 218, 261; Smith, *Early Mysticism*, 215, 242, 252; Al-Kalābādhī, *Ta'arruf* (Arberry), 120 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Al-Sarrāj says that the audition of those who have attained to the verities is in Allāh, to Allāh, from Allāh, and unto Allāh. *Al-Luma'*, 279.

<sup>4</sup> The author makes up words from the letters of *samā'* (audition), and tries to draw teachings from them regarding audition.

<sup>5</sup> This is given in the MSS. instead of the usual invocation of blessing on Muhammad.

said, "I have a time with Allāh in which no angel who is brought near [Allāh's presence] or prophet who is sent on a mission is enough for me."<sup>1</sup> Its *sīn*, *mīm*, and *alif* indicate *samā'* (heaven) to make known that audition causes one to become supernal and heavenly, and one comes forth from the lower ranks. And its *alif* and *mīm* indicate *umm* (mother) to tell that he who engages in audition is the mother of everything else, gets support from the unseen by his spiritual nature, and pours forth on everything else life and knowledge which the word *mā'* (water) indicates. Its '*ain* and *mīm* indicate '*amm* (inclusive), i.e. he who engages in audition includes in his spiritual nature supernal things, in the life of his heart human things, and in the light of his pure soul bodily things and other states. So he who engages in audition rises to the high stations and the divine favours which one cannot attain to by a thousand efforts and the most perfect religious exercises. And the benefits of audition reach a hundred benefits and a hundred thousand states which he who has taste,<sup>2</sup> ecstasy, and insight discovers. Only he disapproves of audition who is blind of heart, lacking in light, thickly veiled, neglectful of Allāh (Exalted is He!), and inclining to the appetite and passion. Allāh (Exalted is He!) said, "And when they hear what has been sent down to the apostle, you see their eyes pouring with tears from what they know of the truth. They say, 'Our Lord, we believe, so write us down among the testifiers. And why should we not believe in Allāh and the truth which has come to us, and desire that our Lord should cause us to enter along with the upright people?'"<sup>3</sup>

The epilogue concerning the explanation of the nature of audition as it is understood among the saints, the lords of

<sup>1</sup> Al-Sarrāj quotes, on the authority of Al-Ḥuṣrī, a similar saying: "I have a time with Allāh in which nothing other than Allāh (great and glorious is He!) is enough for me along with Him." Doubt is thrown on its genuineness. *Al-Luma'*, 115.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 71, n. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Qur. v, 86 f.

the states, and the stations, to stir their spirits to the world of holiness and remind them of the station of mankind.

So when they purpose that, they gather together in the early morning after finishing the dawn prayer, or after the evening [prayer], after finishing their office (*wird*), be it recitation [of the Qur'ān], *dhikr*, or any act of worship whatsoever. When they sit down, he of their number who has the most sensitive voice recites such a passage as, "And Allāh rescues the God-fearing in their safe place. No evil will touch them, and they will not grieve . . ." down to His saying (Exalted is He!), "And be among the grateful."<sup>1</sup> Or, "Verily the God-fearing will be in gardens and springs receiving what their Lord has brought them. Verily before that they were doing good . . ." down to His saying (Exalted is He!), "You utter."<sup>2</sup> Or "And the sky, we have built it with bands and verily we are expanding . . ." down to His saying (Exalted is He!), "So flee to Allāh; verily I am a clear warner from Him to you."<sup>3</sup> Or, "Did you not see that Allāh sent down water from heaven so that the earth might become green? Verily Allāh is kindly and knowing."<sup>4</sup> And passages like that. Altogether he recites verses which indicate seeking advancement, increase, care, and guarding. Then the *shaiikh*<sup>5</sup> speaks about the meaning of these verses in a manner suited to the station of mystical practices (*sulūk*). He says, Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "Verily, the Qur'ān has an exterior and an interior, a limit and a source."<sup>6</sup> Now the external meaning of these verses is in existing things for the people of consideration, and their internal meaning is in man for the people of revelation and secrets. Now the meaning of this verse, "And Allāh rescues," i.e. He rescues those who fear the ranks of the appetite and passion and

<sup>1</sup> Qur. xxxix, 62-6.

<sup>2</sup> Qur. li, 15-23.

<sup>3</sup> Qur. li, 47-50.

<sup>4</sup> Qur. xxii, 62.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Kashf al-mahjūb*, 419, "It is necessary that a spiritual director should be present during the performance."

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Qūt al-qulūb*, i, 77.

come forth from the hindrances which pertain to repulsion and deviation. So Allāh (Exalted is He!) rescues them from attachment to what is other than Allāh. And the being drawn towards Allāh (Exalted is He!) and the reception of the divine instructions (*ta'rīfāt*) take place without an intermediary, since Allāh (Exalted is He!) said, "And fear Allāh, and Allāh teaches you." Their minds are perfect with wisdom (*hikma*) and gnosis (*ma'rifa*); their hearts are perfect with the states (*ahwāl*), the tastes (*adhwāq*) and the ecstasies (*marwājīd*); and their souls are perfect with good deeds and pure characters to interpret every existing thing according to the purpose of Allāh (Exalted is He!). Then He sends them back from the truth to the creatures (*khalq*), seeking to transfer to others by means of them the marks of the divine attributes which pertain to life and knowledge. So when they leave the divine presence in mind and soul and are attached to what is other than Allāh (Exalted is He!), on account of seeing the marks of His actions and the perfecting of the ranks of His noumena (*ma'qūlāt*), no evil touches them by this accidental attachment, i.e. distance and being veiled from the Unique Presence, since they are with Allāh in their inner being and spirit, and with the creatures in their perception and soul; "and they will not grieve" on account of the lack of the departure of the stages, stations, and states which they possess.

And he says about the second example, "Verily the God-fearing," by abandoning what is other than Allāh and being drawn to Him secretly and openly, "will be in gardens" of the branches of gnosis and unseen sciences, "receiving" from Allāh "what He has brought them" of illuminations and instructions. "Verily, they were before that," i.e. in the state of mystical practices journeying and seeking, "doing good" with their souls by keeping to the ordinances and laws, and with their minds by applying themselves to good thoughts and understanding the Unitarian secrets.

And about the third: "And the sky," i.e. the sky of the



spirits, "we have built it," i.e. we have brought it to light from the divine unseen to the decree of existence; "with bands" i.e. with power, knowledge, and will; "and verily, we are expanding" the ranks of the spirits, that various kinds of unitarian secrets and ecstatic ranks may be revealed in them; "and the earth," i.e. the earth of the pure, unsullied hearts; "we have spread it," i.e. we have spread it as the earth of the hearts, that there may appear in it various kinds of wisdom, gnosis, gentleness, and subtleties; "so good are the smoothers," i.e. we have spread it in a determinative and not a statutory manner, and on this account it comprises thousands of kinds of sciences and branches of gnosis; "and of everything we have created a pair," i.e. like spirit and body, form and meaning, beauty and character, etc.; "perhaps you may take note" that the rank (*rutba*) of wisdom includes the causes and the things caused, and the rank of power (*qudra*) the appearance of things without an intermediary; "so flee" from the seen to the unseen, from the names to the Namer, from the attributes to the essence, and from transience to eternity.

And he says about the fourth example, "Did you not see," with the eye of discernment; "that Allāh sent down" from the sky of the spirits the rain of the sciences and the branches of gnosis on the earth of the pure, unsullied hearts to avoid inclining to what is other than Allāh; "so that the earth" of the hearts "might become green" with various kinds of acts of worship and reparings and acceptable characteristics, like generosity, pardon, pity, humility, honour, etc.

Then the *qawwāl* engages in instructive speech and a saying pertaining to the Lord,<sup>1</sup> like,

Thou hast in the hearts stations and a place which neither the intellect nor the understandings can comprehend.

<sup>1</sup> *JRAS.* (1901), 738 ff., has an interesting argument to show why verses of the Qur'ān are not sufficient to induce ecstasy. In certain circumstances poetry may be more suitable, as it is not so familiar.

Then if someone says, "You have given the Truth (Exalted is He!) a station and a place, and that is anthropomorphism," we say, It is thus expressed simply out of adherence to what the wise lawgiver said. When he was asked, "Where is Allāh in the earth?" he said, "In the hearts of His believing servants."<sup>1</sup>

And like,

Every morning and every dawn my eye weeps with the tears  
of one who yearns.

The snake of passion has stung my heart,<sup>2</sup> and there is no  
physician for it and none to apply a charm,

Save the Beloved of whom I am enamoured; with Him are  
my charm and my antidote.

And like his saying,<sup>3</sup>

Come, Sa'd, let us cross the deserts in fealty to the love He has  
cast into me.<sup>4</sup>

I have a passion in desire for Him. That which determines  
the states of purity in every living being<sup>5</sup> has appeared  
to me.

I sought to efface myself to glorify Him; there is no universal  
attribution except to me.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Qūt al-gulūb*, i, 175.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "liver".

<sup>3</sup> The following verses cannot be a part of the original work, as they would appear to be in fairly close imitation of the first ode in the *dīwān* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 632/1235). Majd al-Dīn died in 520/1126. The first, sixth, and last three lines are particularly close to Ibn al-Fāriḍ's words. It is conceivable that Ibn al-Fāriḍ used these verses as a basis for his ode, but this is hardly likely. Another argument against their genuineness is that they are given only in B. C gives no verses at all. P gives all the verses but those of this poem and the following one. These two poems omitted by P, occupy exactly one side of a folio in B. I therefore incline to consider that they have been added by a later hand.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. v. 1 of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's ode.

<sup>5</sup> Professor R. A. Nicholson, to whom I am indebted for drawing my attention to the resemblance between this poem and that of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, has suggested that *ḥayy* (living being) may here have its other meaning of "clan", and that the phrase may therefore mean "everywhere".

<sup>6</sup> His effacing of himself has brought him into union with God.

All the various grades [of existence] depend perpetually on me<sup>1</sup>; verily, they are the laws<sup>2</sup> of a revelation, my brother.

He does not see me who has in himself any perception of a shadow in the suns of ecstasy.

The state of passing away in love of Him has brought me increase [of mystical life]; I care not whether I am spread out or folded up.<sup>3</sup>

All attributes appeared under His authority; that is the mystery of the unitive state, "of you and related to me."<sup>4</sup>

My dear companions, why do you deny my [mystic] state after acknowledging it to me as a youth?<sup>5</sup>

His wine has put me in [a state of] purity, as the *lām kay* in grammar puts a verb in the subjunctive.<sup>6</sup>

The glad news of union with the life everlasting has come to

<sup>1</sup> The speaker must be a *qutb* (pole), the highest grade among the saints. *Kashf al-mahjūb*, 213 f., says that the saints govern the universe. The highest of those who have power to loose and bind is the *qutb* or *ghawth* (helper). Cf. Nicholson, *Studies*, p. 86, "Jīlī calls the Perfect Man the preserver of the universe, the *Qutb* or Pole on which all the spheres of existence revolve." *ibid.*, 194, 246.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. the laws governing the coming of revelation.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ibn al-Fārīd's ode, 1, 5.

<sup>4</sup> The MS. has *min-kum au 'alaīy* (from you or upon me), which is a very difficult phrase to explain. There is a common phrase *min-ka wa ilaika* which means "of thee and related to thee". It is discussed by Goldziher in *ZDMG.*, 48, pp. 95 ff., and by Kaufmann, *ibid.*, pp. 425 ff. This phrase may be at the basis of the words in the text. In its ordinary form it would not suit the metre, so *min-kum* and *au* may be explained on this ground. I suggest emending *'alaīy* to *ilaīy*. The phrase may then be understood with reference to the unitive state as meaning that the terms "thee" and "me" are one and the same thing.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ibn al-Fārīd's ode, 1, 19.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 1, 21. In B the line ends with *lā miray* (without doubt). I am indebted to Professor Nicholson for suggesting the emendation here, as it is obviously correct, following Ibn al-Fārīd. The *lām kay* is the particle which expresses purpose and governs the subjunctive. There is a pun in the Arabic which cannot be reproduced in English, the verb translated "put" having the same root letters as the word for "subjunctive".

me ; this Gazelle [the Beloved] is the hunter of the lions among mankind [i.e. the mystics].<sup>1</sup>

And like,

Knowledge of reality is a revelation which comprises the ranks of existing things and of various kinds.

Then when you pass away from the use of figures,<sup>2</sup> having understanding, you comprehend the law of the verities of the Merciful.

There is no reasoning in the mystical apprehension which realizes plurality in the gracious summit of the unity of His essence.<sup>3</sup>

If you seek to open a comprehensive gate, verify the realities of the phenomena of every place.

Then divest yourself of looking at the figures [ideas] whence comes all that constitutes the purest faith.<sup>4</sup>

Then when you raise the standard of high glory, and obliterate the marks of passion and baseness,

At that time you realize what constitutes His inner being, and understand the unity of His gracious face.

And like his saying,

All existence is speaking of the outpouring of Thy generosity, and the beauty of Thy face is shining in the perceptions.

The farthest point reached by [earthly] lovers in their deserts is but the starting-point of the lover [i.e. the mystic] and of him whom realities enclose.

When He appeared from <sup>5</sup> the state of being <sup>5</sup> an all-comprehending hidden consciousness, He removed the veil, and that is an extraordinary matter.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ibn al-Fārid's ode, I, 25, where a similar figure is used. The commentary explains that the poet is called a lion because of his boldness in treading Allāh's way and opposing fleshly desires ; while the gazelle is the Beloved.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. ideas which are perceived by sense perception.

<sup>3</sup> For the idea of unity in plurality cf. Nicholson, *Studies*, pp. 96 ff.

<sup>4</sup> What may help others is a hindrance to the mystic. He can attain to the purest faith only by divesting himself of everything connected with sense perception.

<sup>5</sup> . . . <sup>5</sup> Lit. "the law of".

The revelation came from the station of His attributes and obliterated revelations. . . .<sup>1</sup>

A splendour to which [all] places of sunrise and sunset returned<sup>2</sup> produced flashes of noble qualities.

This is He whom I showed from the height of purity, the Truth of Reality, and He is a surpassing mystery.

At the time of His appearing, virgins of the inner room of love had girdles bound round their waists.

Do not seek knowledge in its effects ; the revealing is a raising and the passing away is congruous.

Nay, seek the perfection of effacement in honouring Him, that outpourings from Him may be in your heart.

Now if the *qawwāl* utters poetry in which there is a description of a cheek, a mole, and a stature, it is to be applied to the cheek, mole, and stature of the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.).

As for the instruments of diversion, they are all forbidden by common consent, such as the harp (*jank*),<sup>3</sup> the viol (*rabāb*),<sup>4</sup> the lute (*'ūd*), the Persian lute (*barbaṭ*),<sup>5</sup> the reed-pipe (*mizmār*),<sup>6</sup> and such like,<sup>7</sup> with the exception of the tambourine (*duff*).<sup>8</sup> for two sound traditions about the permissibility of listening to the tambourine are handed down in Al-Bukhārī and Muslim. So those who have taste follow him (Allāh bless him, etc.).

<sup>1</sup> The line ends with "in which there is no *ṭāriq*. The sense is not at all clear. *Ṭāriq* means "one who knocks", "one who raids", "one who comes by night", "one who divines with pebbles", "morning star"; but none of these meanings seem to be suitable here.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Nicholson has explained this phrase to me as meaning, a splendour which is the ultimate source of all lights.

<sup>3</sup> See Farmer, *History*, 16, 18, 210.

<sup>4</sup> "The generic name in Arabic for the viol, or any stringed instrument played with a bow." *Enc. of Islām*, iii, 1084 ff. Cf. also Farmer, *Or. Mus. Instr.*, 75, 99 ff.

<sup>5</sup> For the *'ūd* and the *barbaṭ* see *Enc. of Islām*, iv, 985 ff.

<sup>6</sup> See *Enc. of Islām*, iii, 539 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Al-Ghazālī, *JRAS.* (1901), 211, 237, where reference is made to the prohibition of stringed instruments and pipes because they are associated with *muḥannathūn* and drinkers.

<sup>8</sup> See Farmer, *op. cit.*, 84.

The condition of their assembling is that no beardless youth should be among them,<sup>1</sup> nor should there be a window through which women can look at them ; but if pious beardless youths are among them, they sit behind the men. Then when they experience within them a stirring which affects them like the commotion of one who is called to the service of a mighty king and to appear before Allāh (Exalted is He !), he who falls into ecstasy does not rise till he is overpowered, and the people do as he does. The dance is not to be affected or feigned, nay, their movements must be in accordance with the state, like one who is overcome by terror or unavoidable trepidation.<sup>2</sup> Then when their spirits receive a mystical apprehension (*ḥazz*) of the unseen states, and their hearts are softened by the lights of the divine Essence and are established in purity and the spiritual lights, they sit down, and he who chants (*muzamzim*) chants a light chant to bring them forth by degrees from the internal to the external. Then when he stops, someone other than the first reciter recites such [a passage] as “This is our gift, so be lavish, or withhold without account . . .” to His saying (Exalted is He !), “those endowed with minds”<sup>3</sup>; or, “Verily, those who say, ‘Our Lord is Allāh,’ then are steadfast. . . .” to His saying (Exalted is He !), “possessor of a mighty share,”<sup>4</sup> and such like. Then if there is among them anyone in whom remains the residue of a state or of absorption, the *qawwāl* repeats [what he uttered] in a lighter voice than the first ; and if they remain seated, he does it a third time in a voice intermediate between the heavy and the light, since the complete ranks are three, the rank of men, the rank of the angel, and the rank of Lordship (*rubūbīya*) at which there is absolute quiescence. Then they get up from the place of audition and go to their dwellings and sit watching for the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Kashf al-mahjūb*, 416 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. op. cit., 415 f.; *JRAS.* (1902), 4.

<sup>3</sup> Qur. xxxviii, 38-42.

<sup>4</sup> Qur. xli, 30-5.

revelation of what appeared to them in the state of their absorption in ecstasy. After audition some of them dispense with food for days on account of the nourishment of their spirits and hearts with unseen mystical experiences (*wāridāt*). This is the way of the people, and no one who has the least share of religion and light rejects such states as these.

As time went on, they permitted pious women who were of their number to look at them through windows and elsewhere, and [also allowed] their assembling with beardless youths who were pious, but not with others. Things went on like that till the common people imitated them, and the good was mingled with the corrupt, and the system was disordered.<sup>1</sup> So everyone must look to his own state and what pertains to him and leave everything else, just like him who lives among the sick; so he must be occupied with himself alone. Thus in the earliest times the religion was tender and fresh, strong and uncontaminated by any trace of corrupt beliefs and misleading opinions; but as time went on, beliefs became corrupted and misleading deeds became abundant,<sup>2</sup> as the lawgiver foretold in his saying, "My people will divide into seventy-three sects, one of which will be saved while the remainder perish." It was said, "O, apostle of Allāh, who are the sect which will be saved?" He said, "The one to which I and my Companions belong."<sup>3</sup>

So it is now necessary for every pious person to apply himself to what is true and abandon what is vain. And similarly the audition which is approved among the saints is what we have mentioned. And when the good is mingled with the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Kashf al-mahjūb*, 409.

<sup>2</sup> References to a deterioration with the passage of time are common. Sometimes it is said to be after the second or third generation of Islām (cf. Al-Bukhārī, *Shahādāt*, 9; *al-aimān wa'l-nudhūr*, 10; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunna*, 9); at the end of the second century (cf. *Qūt al-qulūb*, iv, 227 f.); or at the end of the third century (cf. op. cit., ii, 41 f.).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Abū Dāwūd, *Sunna*, 1; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, iv, 102. In Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, iii, 145, there is a form of the tradition nearer the wording given by Majd al-Dīn, but it is peculiar in that it gives the number as seventy-two.

corrupt, every possessor of taste and ecstasy must apply himself to audition according to its established conditions, and not withdraw from it at the word of an objector and opponent, for that brings about the abandonment of imitating the saints, and then one goes forth from the state of affairs [mentioned in] his saying (Peace be upon him!), "He who resembles a people is one of them."<sup>1</sup>

As to the poor who are credited with belonging to this party but are not of them, their state with reference to the saints of earlier times is like the state of the jurists of the present time with reference to the jurists of earlier times, men of godliness and piety. That means that the principle of jurisprudence requires abstinence, godliness, piety, contentment with little worldly gear, lack of seeking luxuries, lack of running to the gates of kings except in the service of others, continuance in what the Prophet (Allāh bless him, etc.) endured; his practice (Allāh bless him, etc.) was [expressed in the saying], "I am hungry one day and satisfied another." And 'Ā'isha (Allāh be pleased with her!) said, "Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.) did not eat his fill from the time that news came to Al-Madīna of the raising of his power (Allāh bless him, etc.) over the weakening influence of pleasures,"<sup>2</sup> although the Truth (Exalted is He!) allowed that, when He (Exalted is He!) said, "O apostles, eat of the good things and do that which is good."<sup>3</sup> [The principle of jurisprudence also requires] lack of building what one does not need, according to what has come down in the tradition, "If anyone builds above what he needs, Allāh will compel him to carry it on his shoulder."<sup>4</sup> [It also requires] the continual practice of humility. The learned among the pious men of early days were like that.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 74, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> I am not familiar with this tradition, but traditions which speak of the hardship of Muhammad's life are frequent.

<sup>3</sup> Qur. xxiii, 53.

<sup>4</sup> For a similar tradition, cf. Ibn Māja, *Zuhd*, 13.



It is related of Abū Ḥanīfa (Allāh have mercy on him!) that when the Caliph offered him the office of *qāḍī*, he refused it, holding to his saying (Peace be upon him!), "He who is made a *qāḍī* is slaughtered without a knife"<sup>1</sup>; and to his saying (Peace be upon him!), "The *qāḍīs* are three, two in hell and one in Paradise."<sup>2</sup> This was due to his godliness, religion, and holding to tradition. So when he came into the Caliph's presence and refused to accept the office of *qāḍī* when he offered it to him, he was stripped and beaten till the mark of the blows could be seen on his back and blood flowed from him. Then he consulted his friends, and they said, "What you consider to be for the best is right." Abū Yūsuf<sup>3</sup> said, "There is no harm in that, for it comprises the benefit of the people." He then said, "It is as though I were chiding a *qāḍī*." Thereafter Al-Manṣūr visited Abū Ḥanīfa,<sup>4</sup> and among other things, he consoled with him and said, "This is the [greatest] jurist of Al-'Irāq." Then he summoned him and ordered that he should be given a thousand dirhams for every lash; and it is said that he had received fifty strokes. Then he offered him the office of *qāḍī*, but he said, "I am not fit for it." Yet again he offered it to him, and he said, "I must either be telling the truth, or telling a falsehood. Now if I am telling the truth, it is not right that you should appoint one who is not fit for it; and if I am telling a falsehood, it is not right that you should appoint one who tells falsehoods."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Abū Dāwūd, *Aqḍiya*, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., *Aqḍiya*, 2.

<sup>3</sup> d. 182. A Ḥanafī, who was *qāḍī* of Baghdād. See *Enc. of Islām*, i, 114.

<sup>4</sup> B has "the Caliph", which is obviously a scribal error. I suggest that "Abū Ḥanīfa" is the correct reading.

<sup>5</sup> There are stories of Abū Ḥanīfa being offered the office of *qāḍī* both in the time of Marwān II, the last Umayyad Caliph, and of Al-Manṣūr, the second 'Abbāsid Caliph. In Marwān's time Yazīd ibn 'Umar ibn Hubaira, *amīr* of the two 'Irāqs, is said to have administered ten lashes daily till the number reached 110, because he refused the office (Cf. Ibn Khall, iii, 557 f.; *Al-Nawawī's Biog. Dict.*, 700). The story given above differs from this, as it says Abū Ḥanīfa was brought before the Caliph (Marwān ?)

Similarly it is handed down about Abū'l-Laith Al-Samarqandī<sup>1</sup> that he was godly and attentive to religion, so that he said, "For so many years the angel who records my evil deeds (*ṣāhib al-shimāl*)<sup>2</sup> did not record anything against me in proportion," i.e. he knew his attentiveness to religion. An inquirer associated with him for a period, serving him and learning from him, and did not hear him utter one word of slander. If anyone began to slander [another] in his presence, he bent down his head to turn away from him and would not face him, to prevent his mind and heart from being injured, even if he [was speaking] the truth.

And the imām Jamāl al-Dīn al-Mahbūnī<sup>3</sup> in Bukhārā was like that. He was a self-denying, godly jurist who occupied himself with bodily acts of worship and busied himself with knowledge and learning; he never busied himself with anyone. When someone said to him, "So and so is an evildoer," he replied, "He (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, 'Part of the goodness of a man's Islām is to leave alone what does not

and received fifty strokes. An account of Al-Manṣūr's dealings with Abū Ḥanifa which corresponds in some respects with the story in the text above, is given in Ibn Khall, iii, 556 f.; Al-Nawawī, op. cit., 700 f., but there is no reference to his gift, and it is said that he imprisoned him after his second refusal. Th. W. Juynboll (*Enc. of Islām*, i, 91) suggests that the whole story is a "legend, invented by later Ḥanafites, who could not understand that the Government had never tried to induce the master to enter its service".

<sup>1</sup> A Ḥanafī jurist and theologian. d. between 373 and 393 (983 and 1002). Cf. Sarkis, *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique*, 1045; *Enc. of Islām*, i, 98.

<sup>2</sup> Everyone is said to have two recording angels, one on the right hand to record good deeds, and one on the left to record evil deeds. Cf. Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*, 279. Qur. i, 16, speaks of the "two meeters" who sit one on the right and the other on the left. This follows immediately on a reference to Allāh being nearer to man than his jugular vein. Cf. Al-Baiḍāwī, in loc., where he says that Allāh knows matters which may escape even the recording angels. See also Qur. lxxxii, 11. *Qūt al-qulūb*, ii, 68, says the novice is not repentant till the companion of the left hand (*ṣāhib al-shimāl*) has had nothing to record for twenty years. It also says (ii, 81 f., 117) that the companion of the right hand is superior to the companion of the left.

<sup>3</sup> I can find no reference to anyone of this name.

concern him.' <sup>1</sup> And he (Peace be upon him!) said, 'Begin with yourself, then [deal with] him whom you support.' <sup>2</sup> For it is not right that one whose own self is deficient should busy himself with other people."

Thus was the custom of the jurists of former times, but the jurists of the present time are the very opposite of that. They are characterized by avidity, cupidity, going backwards and forwards to the gates of kings, discussing people's reputation, and continual slander. He (Peace be upon him!) said, "Slander is more serious than fornication." <sup>3</sup> And he (Peace be upon him!) said, "Slander means that you say concerning your brother what he dislikes." Then a man said, "O apostle of Allāh, suppose my brother does what I say?" He (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "If your brother does what you say, you have slandered him; and if not, you have cast aspersions on him." <sup>4</sup> And he (Allāh bless him, etc.) said, "Do not envy, hate, or backbite one another, but be servants of Allāh and brethren." <sup>5</sup> Forbidden to a Muslim are another Muslim's reputation, blood, and property, mutual envy, mutual hate, continual slander, discussing one another's reputation, and lack of eagerness to learn a thing in its true nature. But on the contrary, everyone is satisfied with what others say and has no eagerness to learn a thing in its true nature, the truth of the matter, its origin, the way to discover it and verify texts which prove it and answer objections to it; and there is lack of respect for the learned and the pious. So it appears from what is happening that the actions, affairs, and jurisprudence of the jurists of the present day in comparison

<sup>1</sup> Al-Tirmidhī, *Zuhd*, 11; Ibn Māja, *Fitan*, 12.

<sup>2</sup> This is an example of a tradition quoted altogether out of its context. Two traditions are combined here, both of which refer to charity, which has been received. Cf. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, ii, 4; Al-Nasā'ī, v, 61 f., 69. They have no connection with the subject of criticizing others.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Qūt al-qulūb*, i, 147.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Abū Dāwud, *Adab*, 35.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Al-Bukhārī, *Adab*, 57; Muslim, v, 235; Abū Dāwud, *Adab*, 47; Ibn Māja, *Du'ā*, 5.

with the jurists of the past, who were godly, energetic, and religious, is like the state of the poor of the present day in comparison with the saints of the past. So if they blame the poor, saying that their audition is not permissible, they do not follow the provisos of the saints of the past. They are deserving of blame for not following what the godly jurists of the past were engaged in. So if they blame others, and do the opposite of what they ought, one may apply to them [the verse], "Why do you say what you do not do? Allāh greatly abhors that you should say what you do not do"<sup>1</sup>; and His saying (Exalted is He!), "Do you order men to be pious and forget yourselves?"<sup>2</sup>

We close the book (Praise be to Allāh and His good help!) with a tradition which has come to us from Allāh's apostle (Allāh bless him, etc.), that he said, "When I order you to do something, do as much of it as you can."<sup>3</sup> And Allāh is the best informed.

The book is finished. Praise be to Allāh by whom the good things are completed and the blessings come down, and by whose will He has made joys perfect, and from whom are the fates of death and of life! Praise be to Allāh alone! And Allāh bless our master, Muḥammad, his family, and his Companions, and grant peace!

<sup>1</sup> Qur. lxi, 2 f.

<sup>2</sup> Qur. ii, 41.

<sup>3</sup> Al-Nasā'ī, *Ḥajj*, 1; Ibn Māja, *Muqaddima*, 1.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ <sup>1</sup> وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ <sup>1</sup>  
 الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي أَسْمَعَ الْعِبَادَ فِي الْمِيثَاقِ الْأَوَّلِ خُطَابُ أَلَسْتُ  
 بِرَبِّكُمْ <sup>2</sup> لِإِكْمَالِ رَتَبَةِ الْمَعَارِفِ وَكَمَلِ عُقُولِ الطَّلَابِ  
 لِإِدْرَاكِ فَوَائِدِ الْأَعْمَالِ وَاللِّطَائِفِ وَأَزَالَ حُجُبَ أَرْوَاحِهِمْ  
 الْمَانِعَةَ عَنِ التَّرَقِّيِّ إِلَى الْجَنَابِ الْأَحَدِيِّ بِرَفْعِ <sup>3</sup> الْمَصَارِفِ  
 وَالصَّوَارِفِ <sup>4</sup> وَارْقَ قُلُوبَهُمْ بِنُورِ الْيَقِينِ وَجَلَا مَرَاةَ نَفُوسِهِمْ  
 بِقُوَى التَّمَكِينِ حَتَّى وَجَدُوا آثَارَ التَّجَلِّيَّاتِ وَخَلَصُوا مِنْ  
 رِقِّ الشَّهَوَاتِ وَجَالَتْ أَجْسَادُهُمْ فِي السَّمَاعِ طَلِبَا لَخْلَاصِ  
 الرُّوحِ وَحِرْصَا عَلَى إِنْالَةِ جَلَائِلِ الْفَتْوحِ فَإِنَّهَا مِنْ أَكْمَلِ  
 صِفَاتِ الرَّجُلِ الْخَائِفِ <sup>5</sup> وَأَصْلِيِّ عَلَى نَبِيِّهِ خَاتَمِ الرُّسُلِ  
 الْجَامِعِ بَيْنَ الْعَوَارِفِ وَالْمَعَارِفِ <sup>6</sup> صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ <sup>7</sup> وَعَلَى

<sup>1-1</sup> P om.

<sup>2</sup> An addition in the margin of B finishes the quotation with قَالَوا بلى.

<sup>3</sup> P وَكَمَلِ.

<sup>4</sup> B and P يَرْفَعُ.

<sup>5-5</sup> B om. In margin the following is added: وَأَوْدَعَ فِي قُلُوبِهِمْ مِنْ  
 أَسْرَارِ كَلَامِهِ الرِّقَائِقِ وَاللِّطَائِفِ

<sup>6-6</sup> P الْعَوَارِفِ وَالْمَعَارِفِ. Below B has in small writing:  
 التَّوَاضُّعِ وَاللِّطَائِفِ.

<sup>7</sup> B om.

آله وأصحابه صلاة<sup>1</sup> ترفع قائلها<sup>1</sup> إلى نواهي البركات  
والشرائف

يقول<sup>2</sup> عبد الله المفتقر إلى<sup>2</sup> إئالة<sup>4 2</sup> فيض<sup>4</sup> فضل الله تعالى  
الملتجئ<sup>5</sup> إلى جناب الله أحمد بن محمد بن محمد الطوسي الغزالي<sup>5</sup>  
ألحقه<sup>6</sup> الله تعالى بعباده الأبرار في دار القرار سألني بعض<sup>8</sup>  
الصلحاء المتوجّه إلى الله في<sup>9</sup> السراء والضراء<sup>10</sup> أن أكتب<sup>9</sup>  
لأجله خاصا وللطلاب عامّا رسالة في السماع وفوائده  
وشروط<sup>11</sup> فعله لظهور فوائده مستشهدا عليه بالقرآن  
والحديث وأفعال الصحابة والردّ على منكريه<sup>12</sup> وما يلزمهم<sup>13</sup>  
من المحذورات شرعا وأستدلّ بالكتاب والسنة<sup>14</sup> والمنقول  
والمعقول<sup>14</sup> على<sup>15</sup> أن من قال إن السماع حرام مطلقا لزمه<sup>16</sup>  
الاعتراف<sup>17</sup> بأن النبي<sup>17</sup> صلى الله عليه وسلم فعل حراما

<sup>1-1</sup> B has in small writing below : جامع بين بواقي

<sup>2-2</sup> P العبد الفقير إلى الله تعالى في

<sup>3</sup> B عبيد.

<sup>4-4</sup> Below in small writing B has روضاؤه

<sup>5</sup> B om.

<sup>6</sup> Under this B has in small writing : الله عليه : بار [؟ بارك]

<sup>7</sup> B om. <sup>8</sup> B بعض.

<sup>9-9</sup> Under this B has in small writing : اهل التوحيد سه [؟ ثبته] الله على

مناهج الاستقامة

<sup>10</sup> B adds في المنام المحروسة

<sup>11</sup> P adds في.

<sup>12</sup> B منكره.

<sup>13</sup> B يلزمهم

<sup>14-14</sup> P في المعقول والمنقول

<sup>15</sup> B om.

<sup>16</sup> B لزم منه

<sup>17-17</sup> B بأنه.

ونظر بالحرام وأقر<sup>1</sup> غيره على الحرام ومن اختلج<sup>2</sup> في ظنّه  
 ذلك كفر بالإجماع وسدّت عليه طرائق<sup>3</sup> المناجح والإلماح  
 فلمّا رأيت صدق رغبته أجبت سؤاله وحصلت  
 نواله بتحرير<sup>4</sup> هذا الكتاب بعد الاستخارة من حضرة  
 الملك الوهاب وسمّيته بوارق الإلماح<sup>5</sup> في الردّ<sup>6</sup> على من  
 يحرم السماع بالإجماع وليس لمورد<sup>7</sup> أن يورد على ما ذكرنا  
 في هذا الكتاب<sup>8</sup> إلّا بعد الإحاطة بجميع<sup>9</sup> ما فيه وعند  
 ذلك<sup>10</sup> لا يجد<sup>11</sup> للإيراد محلاً أصلاً نسأل<sup>12</sup> الله العظيم<sup>13</sup>  
 أن ينفع<sup>14</sup> به إنه قريب<sup>15</sup> مجيب

اعلم زَيْنَ الله قلبك بنور الطاعة وأدرجك في حقيقة  
 الشهادة والشفاعة أن سماع هذه الطائفة عبارة عن ملاحظة  
 الأسرار الغريبة<sup>16</sup> من الأشعار الرقيقة التي يشدها<sup>17</sup>  
 القوَال مقرونا<sup>18</sup> بالوجد<sup>19</sup> الحاصل في قلب العارف العامل

<sup>1</sup> B واخر.<sup>2</sup> B احتلج.<sup>3</sup> In B someone has added تكفير above. P طريق.<sup>4</sup> P بتحرير. <sup>5-6</sup> B والردّ. <sup>6</sup> P لوارد.<sup>7</sup> An addition in the margin of B has [ع] بالكتاب والسنة والإجماع.<sup>8</sup> B الكتاب.<sup>9</sup> B جميع.<sup>10</sup> P adds ان.<sup>11</sup> B يجد. P تجد بعد.<sup>12</sup> P om.<sup>13</sup> P om.<sup>14</sup> P ينتفع.<sup>15</sup> B قرب.<sup>16-17</sup> P الأشعار الغزلية.<sup>17</sup> B نشدها.<sup>18</sup> B مقرونا.<sup>19</sup> B بالوجد.

والمريد<sup>1</sup> الكامل يحملهم<sup>2</sup> على خلع العذار والانجذاب<sup>3</sup> الى  
جناب<sup>4</sup> الواحد القهار والاطلاع على الرقائق<sup>5</sup> والأسرار  
وإنما اختاروا لرفع<sup>6</sup> هذه الحجب السماع بالأصوات  
الحسنة في معظم الاوقات<sup>7</sup> بعد أداء<sup>8</sup> المأمورات لأن<sup>9</sup>  
طبيعة الإنسان مائلة الى الصوت غريزة<sup>10</sup> لاجتلاب<sup>11</sup>  
منافعه ودفع المضار بواسطته فلما حصلت<sup>12</sup> فيه زيادة<sup>13</sup>  
ترتبات<sup>14</sup> نغمية<sup>15</sup> ومناسبات روحية المسماة بالموسيقى<sup>16</sup>  
آثرتها على ما سواه فإذا سمع الإنسان<sup>17</sup> المناسبات النغمية  
المتضمنة المعاني الذوقية والحقائق التوحيدية ما الوجود  
الى تلك<sup>18</sup> بأسرها وأخذ كل عضو<sup>19</sup> حظّه على الانفراد  
فالسمع لطائف المناسبات المطلقة<sup>20</sup> والبصر مناسبات<sup>21</sup>  
الحركات والقلب لطائف المعاني والعقل وجدان المناسبات

<sup>1</sup> B المرید.<sup>2</sup> B يحملهم.<sup>3</sup> P بالانجذاب.<sup>4</sup> B جناب.<sup>5</sup> P الدقائق.<sup>6</sup> P للرفع. The correction may have been intended to affect only one lam.<sup>7</sup> B الاوقات.<sup>8-8</sup> P بعداد.<sup>9</sup> B غريزة.<sup>10</sup> P الاجتلاب.<sup>11</sup> B فلما.<sup>12</sup> P حصل.<sup>13</sup> B زيادة; P adds نغيمات.<sup>14</sup> B ترتبات.<sup>15</sup> B نغمة.<sup>16</sup> P المسمی.<sup>17</sup> B الانسان.<sup>18</sup> B تلك.<sup>19</sup> P adds بأسره.<sup>20</sup> B om.<sup>21</sup> B مناسبات.



المطلقة وعند اجتماع الأعضاء على الأمور الملائمة<sup>1</sup> يرتفع  
حكم التنافر ويظهر حكم التوافق<sup>2</sup> والتنافر من الظلمة<sup>3</sup>  
والتوافق<sup>3</sup> من النور وعند ارتفاع الظلمة<sup>4</sup> وانبساط النور  
ينكشف أمور وحقائق لا يوصل إليها بألف اجتهد  
ولا بدّ لمثل هذا السماع من الزمان والمكان<sup>5</sup>  
والإخوان أمّا الزمان ففي أوقات صفاء قلوبهم<sup>6</sup> ومحاولتهم  
الاجتماع<sup>7</sup> طلبا لرضى<sup>7</sup> محبوبهم<sup>8</sup> وتجريد<sup>9</sup> ظاهرهم عن الحظوظ  
النفسانية وتفريد<sup>10</sup> باطنهم<sup>11</sup> عن التعلق<sup>11</sup> بطلب الدرجات  
وتحصيل المقامات وتوحيد أسرارهم<sup>12</sup> عند ورود النفحات  
فإذا اجتمعوا في مثل هذا الزمان انعكست أنوار قلوب  
البعض إلى قلوب آخرين فيزدادوا<sup>13</sup> بذلك الاجتماع نورا  
وظهورا ووضوحا وجورا

وأما المكان فكان زوايا<sup>14</sup> والخوانق<sup>15</sup> والمساجد أولى<sup>16</sup>  
إذ<sup>17</sup> المسجد بني لعبادة الجسد والقلب مخلوق للمعرفة

<sup>1</sup> الملائمة B.<sup>2-3</sup> P om.; B الطلّة.<sup>3</sup> P والتباصر.<sup>4</sup> B الطلّة.<sup>5</sup> B adds والا.<sup>6</sup> B قلوبهم.<sup>7-7</sup> P لطلب الرضى.<sup>8</sup> B محبوبهم ; P لمحبووبهم.<sup>9</sup> B وتجريد.<sup>10</sup> B باطنهم.<sup>11-11</sup> P على التعليق.<sup>12</sup> P اسمائهم.<sup>13</sup> B فيزداد.<sup>14</sup> B فكان زوايا ; P كالزوايا.<sup>15</sup> B والمحوانك.<sup>16</sup> P om.<sup>17</sup> B إذا.

وظهور<sup>1</sup> الله تعالى<sup>2</sup> فيه كما ورد في الخبر<sup>3</sup> لا يسمعي<sup>4</sup> أرضي  
 ولا سمائي<sup>5</sup> ولكن يسمعي<sup>6</sup> قلب عبدي المؤمن وهو مهبط  
 الأنوار الإلهية فإذا تحرك صاحب القلب في المسجد  
 لزيادة نور قلبه وصفاء نفسه كان أولى من تحريك جسد  
 غيره بالصلوة الجسدية من غير<sup>7</sup> الحضور ولا خلاف<sup>8</sup>  
 أن من دخل المسجد واشتغل بالصلوة الصورية<sup>9</sup> وكان<sup>10</sup>  
 قلبه مشحونا<sup>11</sup> من الوسواس والتخيلات والأمر التي  
 نهى الشارع عنها وكان ساعيا في إزالة تلك<sup>12</sup> الموانع عن  
 قلبه ما يمنع دخول المسجد أصلا بل أبلغ<sup>13</sup> من ذلك<sup>13</sup>  
 محقق دخول ظالم<sup>14</sup> فاجر آكل الحرام المسجد<sup>15</sup> وعلم  
 بالقرائن أن قلبه مشغول بالفكر<sup>16</sup> في مظالم الناس وأخذ  
 أموالهم واشتغل بالصلوة<sup>17</sup> صورة لا يمنع دخوله فكيف  
 يمنع لمن يروم طهارة نفسه وجلاء قلبه وصفاء روحه بسماع<sup>18</sup>  
 غرائب الكلام<sup>19</sup> وإدراك لطائف الأشعار الموجبة لثبوت<sup>20</sup>

<sup>1</sup> B فظهور.<sup>2</sup> P om.<sup>3</sup> B الخبر.<sup>4</sup> B يسمعي.<sup>5</sup> P سمائي.<sup>6</sup> B يسمعي.<sup>7</sup> B غير.<sup>8</sup> B خلاف.<sup>9</sup> B بالصلوة.<sup>10</sup> B الصورة.<sup>11</sup> B مشحونا.<sup>12</sup> B تلك.<sup>13-18</sup> P بذلك.<sup>14</sup> B ظالم.<sup>15</sup> P المجد.<sup>16</sup> P بالفكر.<sup>17</sup> B بالصلوة.<sup>18</sup> P بمن.<sup>19</sup> B غرائب.<sup>20</sup> B ثبوت.

نسبته مع الملائكة وقطع نسبته<sup>1</sup> مع الأبالسة فإذا اجتمع  
 أهل الصفاء في مقام العبادة وأرادوا<sup>2</sup> اتّصال صفاء قلوب<sup>3</sup>  
 البعض إلى البعض وازدياد أنوارهم وتكثير<sup>4</sup> صفاء نفوسهم  
 تأيّدت نفوسهم بنور ذلك المكان وازدادت أحوالهم<sup>5</sup>  
 وتكمّلت ذواتهم<sup>6</sup> إذ كل<sup>7</sup> مكان<sup>8</sup> بني للعبادة تعلق به<sup>9</sup>  
 روح ونور من عالم الغيب وازداد حرمة وإجلالا<sup>10</sup>  
 كالإصطبل فإنّه إذا جعل مسجدا<sup>11</sup> تعلق به<sup>12</sup> التعظيم<sup>13</sup>  
 والإجلال [وصار محلا<sup>14</sup> للملائكة] بعد ما كان محلّ<sup>14</sup>  
 النجاسة والشياطين فالقعود فيه وهو مسجد يورث<sup>15</sup>  
 تنوير الباطن قال النبي<sup>16</sup> صلّى الله عليه وسلّم<sup>17</sup> المسجد<sup>18</sup>  
 بيت كلّ تقى<sup>19</sup>

وأما الإخوان فهم على ثلاثة أقسام إخوان الاسم  
 أي المشتركون في اسم الإيمان قال الله تعالى إنّما<sup>20</sup>  
 المؤمنون إخوة فهؤلاء<sup>21</sup> لا تجوز مصاحبته<sup>22</sup> دائما<sup>23</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P النسبة.<sup>2</sup> P واردة.<sup>3</sup> B قلوب. <sup>4</sup> B وكثير.<sup>5</sup> B مكّلت P ; تألفت.<sup>6</sup> P ذواتهم.<sup>7-9</sup> P ادخل. <sup>8</sup> P مكانا.<sup>9</sup> B .ه. <sup>10</sup> P وجلالة.<sup>11</sup> P مسجد.<sup>12</sup> B .ه. <sup>13</sup> B المعظيم.<sup>14-14</sup> Addit. in C.<sup>15</sup> B مسجد.<sup>16</sup> B قال. <sup>17</sup> B om.<sup>18-18</sup> B عليه السلام.<sup>19</sup> P المشتركون.<sup>20</sup> B om. <sup>21</sup> B فهؤلاء.<sup>22</sup> P om.<sup>23</sup> Following C. B يجوز, P يجوز.<sup>24</sup> P صحبتهم.

بل<sup>1</sup> يصحبون لمحّة<sup>2</sup> لإفادتهم ما ينتفعون به وإخوان  
الإرادة والمحبة كالعوامّ المعينين لهم بما لهم<sup>3</sup> ونفوسهم على  
تحصيل طرق الصفاء فهؤلاء وإن لم يكونوا متّصفين  
بأوصافهم<sup>4</sup> جازت<sup>5</sup> مصاحبتهم فإنّهم بقوة الإرادة  
والصدق يكتسبون من أنوار قلوب أهل الصفاء كما  
يكتسب الشمع اللين من حرّ الشمس فإذا رجعوا إلى  
العوامّ انتفع غيرهم بهم<sup>6</sup> وإخوان الصفاء والمواجيد والمعارف  
والتفاريذ<sup>7</sup> والذوق والشوق والكمال فهؤلاء هم الإخوان  
بالحقيقة

فإذا اجتمع الزمان والمكان والإخوان وجب السماع  
لأهل العرفان والكمال والصفاء والوصال كما يجب<sup>8</sup> مسافرة  
الجاهل إلى العالم ليعلم<sup>9</sup> منار الدين ويندب<sup>10</sup> في حقّ  
المريدين<sup>11</sup> ومباح<sup>12</sup> في حقّ المحبّين تشبّها بأهل الصفاء  
والكمال في حرّكاتهم وسكناتهم قال النبيّ<sup>13</sup> صلّى الله عليه  
وسلم<sup>14</sup> من تشبّه بقوم فهو منهم ومن أحبّ قوما حشر معهم

<sup>1</sup> P om.<sup>2</sup> P لمحة.<sup>3</sup> B بهم ; P بهم.<sup>4</sup> B بأوصافهم.<sup>5</sup> B جاز.<sup>6</sup> B بهم.<sup>7</sup> B والتفاريذ.<sup>8</sup> B يجب.<sup>9</sup> P ليعلم.<sup>10</sup> B ونذب.<sup>11</sup> B المريدين.<sup>12</sup> P ويباح.<sup>13</sup> B om.<sup>14-14</sup> B عليه السلام.

وقال<sup>1</sup> الله<sup>2</sup> تعالى<sup>3</sup> يأيّها الذين آمنوا اتقوا<sup>4</sup> الله وكونوا  
 مع الصادقين أي إن لم تكونوا<sup>5</sup> منهم فكونوا معهم  
 وقال<sup>6</sup> تعالى ولو علم الله فيهم خيرا لأسمعهم أي الحق<sup>7</sup>  
 والحكمة والمواعظ<sup>8</sup> والزواج<sup>9</sup> فقلوه<sup>10</sup> أسمعهم أعم<sup>11</sup> من  
 أن يكون قرآنا أو حديثا<sup>12</sup> أو أشعارا<sup>13</sup> أو غير ذلك<sup>14</sup> وقال  
 صلى الله عليه وسلم<sup>15</sup> إن من الشعر لحكمة فمن لم يعلم<sup>16</sup>  
 الله به خيرا<sup>17</sup> فلا يسمعه الحكمة والمعرفة والمواعظ  
 والزواج<sup>18</sup> فلا يسمعه حيثنذ الخير والحق<sup>19</sup> من الأشعار في  
 السماع ومن لم يجد شيئا من الحق<sup>20</sup> والحكمة والفوائد<sup>21</sup>  
 من أمر أنكره فحينئذ يكون الإنكار<sup>22</sup> على نفسه  
 وفي إنكار سماع الغناء<sup>23</sup> وسماع ضرب الدف والأصوات  
 الحسنة مخالفة السنّة<sup>24</sup> واعتقاد<sup>25</sup> تحريمها<sup>26</sup> كفر والإعراض  
 والانتها<sup>27</sup> عنها فسق ورد في البخاري ومسلم عن الربيع بنت  
 معوذ بن عفرأ قالت جاء النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وجلس<sup>28</sup>  
 1 B وقال. 2 B om. 3 B يا ايها. 4 B اتقوا.  
 5 B يكونوا. 6 P adds الله. 7 P om. 8 B فقلوه.  
 9 B حديثا. 10-10 B وغير. 11-11 B عليه السلام. 12 B يعلم.  
 13 P خير. 14 B لا. 15 P والفرايد. 16 B الاكثار.  
 17 P الغناء. 18 B الاعتقاد. 19 B مخالفة السنّة. 20 B اعتقاد.  
 21 B تحريمها. 22 P والاتها. 23 B فسق. 24 P الربيعة.  
 25 B معوذ. 26 B بن.

على فراشي وعندي جويزات يضربن<sup>1</sup> بالدف<sup>2</sup> ويندن<sup>3</sup>  
 من قتل من آبائي<sup>4</sup> يوم<sup>5</sup> بدر<sup>6</sup> فقالت إحداهن<sup>7</sup> وفينا<sup>8</sup>  
 نبي<sup>9</sup> يعلم ما في غد<sup>10</sup> فقال صلي<sup>11</sup> الله عليه وسلم<sup>12</sup> دعي<sup>13</sup>  
 هذا وقولي ما كنت<sup>14</sup> تقولين وكان الشعر<sup>15</sup> بيت<sup>16</sup>  
 تحارب أقوام ببرقة سهم<sup>17</sup>

بضرب وطعن والسيوف المهند<sup>18</sup>  
 فعدلت إحداهن<sup>19</sup> إلى قولها وفينا نبي<sup>20</sup> يعلم<sup>21</sup>  
 ما في غد<sup>22</sup> فهذا الحديث دال<sup>23</sup> على أنه صلي<sup>24</sup>  
 الله عليه وسلم<sup>25</sup> سمع صوت<sup>26</sup> الدف<sup>27</sup> والغناء والشعر من<sup>28</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This reading follows the text given in Al-Bukhārī. B جويزتان يضربان ; P جويزتان يضربان. C has جويزتان, but thereafter pl. is used. The fact that B and P have the masc. in the dual of the vb. suggests that the original had 3 pl. fem. and that the *alif* has been inserted.

<sup>2</sup> B and P ويندبان.

<sup>3</sup> C and P om. In B it was originally omitted, but has been added by a later hand.

<sup>4</sup> B إباهن. P إباهن. C also has إباهن. Text follows Al-Bukhārī.

<sup>5</sup> P repeats. <sup>6</sup> B بدر. <sup>7</sup> B إحداهما. <sup>8</sup> P | غد.

<sup>9</sup> P adds النبي. Al-Bukhārī om. <sup>10</sup> B om.

<sup>11</sup> B كتي. There are a number of slight variations from Al-Bukhārī's text. I have followed his reading only in important words, as the author was probably simply quoting from memory, and would be more interested in recording the incident than in considering verbal accuracy.

<sup>12</sup> B نيت ; P om. and adds وفي الذي تقول. <sup>13</sup> P سهمك.

<sup>14-16</sup> P وطعن يضرب من سيوف المهدي. <sup>17</sup> B أحدهما ; P أحدهما.

<sup>18</sup> P غدا. <sup>17-17</sup> P والحديث. <sup>18</sup> P om.

الجويريات<sup>1</sup> التي<sup>2</sup> لهنّ حالة تحريم<sup>3</sup> سماع أصواتهنّ في  
الكبر من غير حاجة وهو<sup>4</sup> صلى الله عليه وسلم حاضر<sup>5</sup>  
يصغي<sup>6</sup> إليهنّ فأذن سماع الغناء وصوت الدفّ من  
الرجل<sup>7</sup> بطريق<sup>8</sup> الأولى فكيف<sup>9</sup> وقد أمر الجويرية<sup>10</sup>  
بالغناء شعرا وضرب الدفّ حيث قال قولي ما كنت<sup>11</sup>  
تقولين

والأمر للوجوب إذا تجرّد عن القرائن كقوله تعالى<sup>12</sup>  
أقيموا الصلوة<sup>13</sup> أو للندب<sup>14</sup> كقوله تعالى<sup>15</sup> فكاتبوهم إن علمتم  
فيهم خيرا أو للإباحة كقوله تعالى<sup>16</sup> وإذا أحلّتم فاصطادوا  
وها هنا<sup>17</sup> يحتمل الوجوب<sup>18</sup> لأنّه صلى الله عليه وسلم أمرها<sup>19</sup>  
مشافهة<sup>20</sup> بإعادة ما كانت تقولوه وهو مصغى<sup>21</sup> إلى معانيه<sup>22</sup>  
فإذا طلب صلى الله عليه وسلم شيئا مصغيا إلى معناه

<sup>1</sup> الجويريات P ; الجويرتين B .

<sup>2</sup> اللتين P .

<sup>3</sup> تحرم B .

<sup>4</sup> P adds كونه .

<sup>5</sup> حاضرا P .

<sup>6</sup> يصغي P .

<sup>7</sup> P has as explanatory note in margin صاحب الوجد .

<sup>8</sup> I have retained this form here and in other places where it occurs, although بالطريق is the more normal form. But on p. 136 I read بالطريق as it occurs there in P.

<sup>9</sup> فكيف B .

<sup>10</sup> الجويرتان P .

<sup>11</sup> كنتي B .

<sup>12</sup> B om.

<sup>13</sup> واقموا P .

<sup>14-14</sup> والندب P .

<sup>15</sup> B om.

<sup>16</sup> B om.

<sup>17</sup> هنا P .

<sup>18</sup> الجواب P .

<sup>19</sup> P repeats.

<sup>20</sup> مستفاهمة P .

<sup>21</sup> بإعادة P .

<sup>22</sup> عليه من القول P .

<sup>23</sup> مصغى B .

وجب<sup>1</sup> ذكره كقوله تعالى<sup>2</sup> يَا أَيُّهَا<sup>3</sup> الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا اسْتَجِيبُوا  
 لِلَّهِ وَلِلرَّسُولِ إِذَا دَعَاكُمْ وَمَتَابَعْتَهُ وَاجِبَةٌ<sup>4</sup> لِقَوْلِهِ<sup>5</sup> تَعَالَى<sup>6</sup>  
 قُلْ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ تُحِبُّونَ اللَّهَ فَاتَّبِعُونِي<sup>7</sup> وَاسْتَدْعَاءَ قَوْلِ الْمَعْنَى<sup>8</sup>  
 قَوْلًا غَنَاءَ لَيْسَ بِوَاجِبٍ إِجْمَاعًا فَبَقِيَ عَلَى الْإِبَاحَةِ لِقَوْلِهِ  
 تَعَالَى<sup>9</sup> لَقَدْ كَانَ لَكُمْ فِي رَسُولِ اللَّهِ أُسُوءَ حَسَنَةٍ وَقَالُوا فِي  
 أَصُولِ الْفَقْهِ فَعَلَهُ الْمَجْرَدُ يَدُلُّ عَلَى الْإِبَاحَةِ عِنْدَ مَالِكٍ وَعَلَى  
 النَّدْبِ عِنْدَ الشَّافِعِيِّ<sup>10</sup> وَعَلَى الْوُجُوبِ عِنْدَ ابْنِ سُرَيْجٍ<sup>11</sup>  
 وَأَبِي سَعِيدٍ الْأَصْطَخَرِيِّ<sup>12</sup> وَابْنِ خَيْرَانَ<sup>13</sup> اسْتَدَلَّ قَائِلُ<sup>14</sup>  
 الْإِبَاحَةِ بِأَنَّهُ فَعَلَهُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ لَا يَكْرَهُ وَلَا يَحْرُمُ وَالْأَصْلُ  
 عَدَمُ الْوُجُوبِ وَالنَّدْبِ<sup>15</sup> إِلَّا بِقَرِينَةٍ<sup>16</sup> وَلَا قَرِينَةٍ<sup>17</sup> فَبَقِيَ<sup>18</sup>  
 عَلَى<sup>19</sup> الْإِبَاحَةِ قُلْنَا الْغَالِبُ عَلَى فَعَلِهِ الْوُجُوبُ وَالنَّدْبُ وَاسْتَدَلَّ<sup>20</sup>  
 الْقَائِلُ بِالنَّدْبِ بِقَوْلِهِ<sup>21</sup> تَعَالَى لَقَدْ كَانَ لَكُمْ فِي رَسُولِ اللَّهِ  
 أُسُوءَ حَسَنَةٍ وَذَلِكَ<sup>22</sup> يَدُلُّ عَلَى الرَّجْحَانِ<sup>23</sup> وَالْأَصْلُ عَدَمُ  
 الْوُجُوبِ إِلَّا بِقَرِينَةٍ<sup>24</sup> وَلَا قَرِينَةٍ<sup>25</sup> فَبَقِيَ عَلَى النَّدْبِ وَاسْتَدَلَّ<sup>26</sup>

1 B وجب. 2 B om. 3 B يا ايها P. 4 B واجب.

5 P كقوله. 6 B om. 7 P فاتبعوني. 8 P المعنى.

9 B om. 10 B الوجوب. 11 B بن. 12 B شرح.

13 P وابن. 14 P الاصطخري. 15 P حيران. 16 P ما يدل على.

17 P والندب. 18 B بقرينه. 19 P قرينه. 20 P om. 21 B om.

22 P لقوله. 23 B وذلك. 24 B الرجحان. 25-25 P om. 26 B استدلل.



القائل بالوجوب بقوله<sup>1</sup> تعالى قل<sup>2</sup> إن كنتم تحبون الله  
فاتبعوني<sup>3</sup> يحببكم الله وما<sup>4</sup> اتاكم الرسول فخذوه<sup>5</sup>  
وأجمع<sup>6</sup> الصحابة على وجوب<sup>7</sup> الغسل باللقاء<sup>8</sup> الختانيين<sup>9</sup>  
لقول عائشة<sup>10</sup> أم المؤمنين<sup>11</sup> رضي الله عنها<sup>12</sup> فعلته<sup>13</sup> أنا<sup>14</sup>  
ورسول الله فاغتسلنا<sup>15</sup> مع اتفاق<sup>16</sup> الصحابة على عدم  
الغسل وقت المباشرة بغير الإنزال تمسكا<sup>17</sup> بقوله صلى  
الله عليه وسلم<sup>18</sup> إنما<sup>19</sup> الماء من الماء وفي هذه الصورة فقد  
سمع صلى الله عليه وسلم<sup>20</sup> صوت الدف والغناء واستعاد<sup>21</sup>  
فكان على قول بعض<sup>22</sup> الأصوليين<sup>23</sup> واجبا<sup>24</sup> وعلى قول  
البعض ندبا<sup>25</sup> وعلى قول البعض مباحا ولم يقل أحد بالحرمة  
فمن قال إن سماع<sup>26</sup> الغناء<sup>27</sup> وصوت الدف حرام حرّم  
الوجوب<sup>28</sup> أو الندب<sup>29</sup> أو الإباحة فيلحقه إثم عظيم

<sup>1</sup> P لقوله. <sup>2</sup> P om. <sup>3</sup> P فاتبعوني. <sup>4</sup> B ما.

<sup>5</sup> B اتاكم. <sup>6</sup> B فخذوه. <sup>7</sup> P واجتمع. <sup>8</sup> B repeats.

<sup>9</sup> B وجوب. <sup>10</sup> B بالقاء. <sup>11</sup> B الختانيين. <sup>12-13</sup> P om. B أم المؤمنين. 21.

<sup>13-14</sup> B om. <sup>14</sup> P فقالت B فعلت. Text follows Ibn Māja, *Tayammum*, 21.

<sup>15</sup> P اغتسلنا. <sup>16</sup> P adds لبعض.

<sup>17-17</sup> B عليه السلام.

<sup>18</sup> B adds سماع. <sup>19</sup> P والاشعار.

<sup>20</sup> B البعض.

<sup>21</sup> B الاصوليين. <sup>22</sup> P واجبا.

<sup>23</sup> P السماع.

<sup>24</sup> P والغناء. <sup>25</sup> B الواجب.

وروى البخاري ومسلم عن عائشة<sup>1</sup> رضي الله عنها<sup>2</sup>  
 أنها قالت دخل عليها أبو بكر<sup>3</sup> رضي الله تعالى عنه<sup>3</sup>  
 وعندها جويريتان<sup>4</sup> تضربان<sup>5</sup> بالدف<sup>6</sup> وفي رواية<sup>7</sup> تغنيان<sup>8</sup>  
 بما تقاولت به<sup>8</sup> الأنصار يوم بعث<sup>9</sup> والنبي<sup>10</sup> صلى الله عليه  
 وسلم تغشى بشوبه<sup>11</sup> فانتهرهما أبو بكر رضي الله تعالى  
 عنه<sup>12</sup> فكشف النبي<sup>12</sup> صلى الله عليه وسلم عن وجهه<sup>13</sup> وقال  
 دعهما يا أبا بكر فإنها أيام عيد<sup>14</sup> وهذا الحديث<sup>15</sup>  
 بصراحته دال على جواز سماع الدف<sup>16</sup> والغناء وحضورهما<sup>17</sup>  
 والرد على منكريهما<sup>18</sup> وفيه بيان<sup>19</sup> على زجر المنكر ودفعه<sup>20</sup>  
 عن الإنكار<sup>21</sup> لأنه صلى الله عليه وسلم نهى عن<sup>22</sup>  
 الإنكار عليه فمن قال إن سماع الغناء حرام وضرب<sup>23</sup>  
 الدف حرام وحضورهما حرام فكأنه<sup>24</sup> قال إن النبي<sup>25</sup>  
 صلى الله عليه وسلم سمع حراما ومنع الناهي<sup>26</sup> عن الحرام<sup>27</sup>  
 ومن اعتقد ذلك<sup>28</sup> كفر بالاتفاق<sup>29</sup>

جويريتان B om. 3-3 B om. 4 B om. 5 P adds تعالى. 6 عائشة. B

7 B, P. 8 يغنيان. 9 رواية. 10 يضربان P. 11 B. 12 B om.

13 B om. 14 B. 15 شوبه. 16 B. 17 B. 18 B. 19 B. 20 B.

21 B. 22 B. 23 B. 24 B. 25 B. 26 B. 27 B. 28 B.

29 B. 30 B. 31 B. 32 B. 33 B. 34 B.

35 B. 36 B. 37 B. 38 B. 39 B. 40 B.

41 B. 42 B. 43 B. 44 B. 45 B. 46 B.

فإن قيل يجوز<sup>1</sup> هذا في يوم عيد<sup>2</sup> لا في غيره لأنّه  
صلى الله عليه وسلّم قيّد جوازه بيوم عيد<sup>3</sup> وبه قال  
أحمد بن حنبل<sup>4</sup> قلنا إن الاتفاق على أن خصوص السبب  
لا يمنع عموم الحكم كقوله تعالى<sup>5</sup> إن الذين كفروا  
سواء عليهم أندرته أم لم تنذرهم لا يؤمنون نزلت في  
حقّ أبي جهل وأبي لهب وعتبة وشيبة<sup>6</sup> وعبد الله  
ابن سلول<sup>7</sup> والحكم عام في حق جميع<sup>8</sup> الكفار وفي  
الحديث المذكور دلالة على أن كلّ حالة مشروعة يكون  
فيها فرح القلب<sup>9</sup> وطيبة<sup>10</sup> الباطن في أيام العبادة وغيرها  
جاز فيها<sup>11</sup> السماع بالدف والغناء والأشعار  
وفي مسند أحمد أن الحبشة كانوا يدفعون<sup>12</sup> بين يدي  
رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلّم ويرقصون ويقولون محمد  
عبد صالح فقال<sup>13</sup> صلى الله عليه وسلّم ما يقولون قالوا<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> يجوز. B<sup>2</sup> العيد. P<sup>3</sup> يوم. B<sup>4</sup> العيد. P

<sup>5</sup> P adds رضي الله عنه, which is appropriate only for a companion of the Prophet. If some such phrase is to be added, رحمه الله would be more suitable.

<sup>6</sup> B om.<sup>7</sup> P عليهم.<sup>8</sup> B تنذرهم.<sup>9</sup> P وشيبة.<sup>10</sup> B, P بن.<sup>11</sup> P adds لعنهم الله تعالى.<sup>12</sup> B جميع.<sup>13</sup> B الغلوب.<sup>14</sup> P وطيب.<sup>15</sup> P العبارة.<sup>16</sup> B فيها.<sup>17</sup> P يدفعون.<sup>18</sup> B ويرقصون.<sup>19</sup> P adds رسول الله.<sup>20</sup> P قالوا.

يقولون محمد عبد صالح وهذا<sup>1</sup> الحديث<sup>2</sup> بصراحته يدل<sup>3</sup>  
على جواز حضور الرقص وجواز سماع صوت الدف<sup>4</sup>  
والغناء فمن قال إن الرقص حرام وضرب الدف<sup>5</sup> والغناء  
حرام<sup>6</sup> كان ذلك اعترافا منه أن النبي صلى الله عليه  
وسلم حضر الحرام<sup>7</sup> وأقر<sup>8</sup> غيره<sup>9</sup> على الحرام<sup>10</sup> ومن  
اختلج<sup>11</sup> في ظنه ذلك<sup>12</sup> كفر بالاتفاق<sup>13</sup>

فإن قال المنكر إذا كان هذا جائز في حق النبي  
صلى الله عليه وسلم فلم<sup>14</sup> قلتم إنه<sup>15</sup> جائز في حقنا قلنا  
الدليل على جوازه أنه<sup>16</sup> صلى الله عليه وسلم<sup>17</sup> شارع ولا  
يجوز<sup>18</sup> للشارع أن يكتسب أمرا فيه حكم شرعي لقوله  
تعالى<sup>19</sup> إِنَّ الَّذِينَ يَكْتُمُونَ مَا أَنزَلْنَا مِنَ الْبَيِّنَاتِ وَالْهُدَى  
مَنْ بَعْدَ مَا بَيَّنَّاهُ لِلنَّاسِ فِي الْكِتَابِ<sup>20</sup> أولئك يلعنهم الله  
ويلعنهم<sup>21</sup> اللاعنون ولقوله تعالى<sup>22</sup> وَإِذْ أَخَذَ اللَّهُ مِيثَاقَ الَّذِينَ

<sup>1</sup> فهذا.<sup>2</sup> P حديث.<sup>3</sup> P om.<sup>4-4</sup> P الغناء.<sup>5</sup> P حراما.<sup>6-6</sup> P المحرم على غيره.<sup>7</sup> B غيره.<sup>8</sup> B احتلج.<sup>9-9</sup> P ذلك في ظنه.<sup>10</sup> B الاتفاق.<sup>11</sup> P فلم.<sup>12</sup> P adds غير.<sup>13</sup> P في حقه.<sup>14</sup> P adds لانه.<sup>15</sup> B يجوز.<sup>16</sup> B om.<sup>17</sup> B البيّنات.<sup>18</sup> B الكتاب.<sup>19</sup> B ولعنهم.<sup>20</sup> B om.<sup>21</sup> B الدين.

أَتُوا الْكِتَابَ<sup>1</sup> لَتَبَيِّنَهُ<sup>2</sup> لِلنَّاسِ وَلَا تَكْتُمُونَهُ<sup>3</sup> فَلَوْ كَانَ فَعَلَ<sup>4</sup>  
الرَّقْصَ وَحُضُورَ السَّمَاعِ وَالْغَنَاءِ<sup>5</sup> وَضَرْبَ الدَّفِّ حَرَامًا كَانَ  
وَاجِبًا عَلَيْهِ<sup>6</sup> بِحُكْمِ هَذِهِ الْآيَةِ تَنْبِيهِ لغيره<sup>7</sup> وَلَوْ جازَ ذَلِكَ لَهُ  
دُونَ غَيْرِهِ وَجَبَ عَلَيْهِ بَيَانُهُ<sup>8</sup> كَمَا وَرَدَ فِي الْخَبَرِ أَنَّهُ صَلَّى اللَّهُ  
عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ نَهَاهُمْ عَنِ الْوَصَالِ ثُمَّ فَعَلَ فَلَمَّا سَأَلُوا قَالَ لَسْتُ  
كَأَحَدِكُمْ إِنِّي<sup>9</sup> أَبَيْتُ عِنْدَ رَبِّي يَطْعَمَنِي وَيَسْقِينِي<sup>10</sup> وَلَمَّا  
حَضَرَ الرَّقْصَ وَسَمَاعَ الدَّفِّ وَالْغَنَاءِ وَلَمْ يَنْهَ أَحَدًا عَنْ ذَلِكَ  
دَلَّ عَلَى جَوَازِهِ<sup>11</sup> مُطْلَقًا

فَإِنْ قَالَ الْمُنْكَرُ إِنَّ الرَّقْصَ لَعِبٌ وَاللَّعِبُ حَرَامٌ لِأَنَّهُ  
صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ لَا<sup>12</sup> الدَّدُ<sup>13</sup> مِنِّي وَلَا أَنَا مِنْ  
الدَّدِ<sup>14</sup> وَالِدِ الدَّدِ<sup>15</sup> لَعِبٌ قُلْنَا هَذَا الْحَدِيثُ مَخْصُوصٌ بِاللَّعِبِ<sup>16</sup>  
الْحَرَمِ كَالنَّارِدِ وَالْقَمَارِ وَمَا أَشْبَهَ ذَلِكَ لِأَنَّهُ وَرَدَ فِي الْبُخَارِيِّ  
عَنْ عَائِشَةَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهَا أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ

<sup>1</sup> الكتاب B.

<sup>2</sup> B, C, P. لبيئته.

<sup>3</sup> B, C, P. يكتُمُونَهُ. The three MSS. have 3rd pers. instead of 2nd pers., which suggests that this was the actual text, the author presumably having quoted wrongly from memory.

<sup>4</sup> فعل B.

<sup>5</sup> والغنى B.

<sup>6</sup> B om.

<sup>7</sup> لغير P.

<sup>8-8</sup> P om.

<sup>9</sup> P om. B has added this word, writing it above ابيت.

<sup>10</sup> B وسقيني.

<sup>11</sup> P جواره.

<sup>12</sup> P ليس.

<sup>13</sup> P الرد.

<sup>14</sup> P الرد.

<sup>15</sup> P والرِد.

<sup>16</sup> B قلنا.

<sup>17</sup> P مخصوص.

<sup>18</sup> B باللعب.

كان واقفا على باب بيتي والحبشة يلعبون بحرابهم في المسجد  
وأنا أنظر إلى لعبهم فإذا جاز اللعب في المسجد في حضرة  
الشارع في غيره بالطريق<sup>1</sup> الأولى فمن قال إن اللعب مطلقا<sup>2</sup>  
حرام كان ذلك اعترافا منه أن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم  
نظر إلى الحرام وأقر الحرام على حاله ومن اختلج<sup>3</sup> في ظنه  
ذلك<sup>3</sup> كفر بالاتفاق<sup>4</sup>

فإن قال المنكر ورد في الخبر لا لعب إلا في ثلاث<sup>5</sup>  
في الرمي والفرس وملاعبة الرجل<sup>6</sup> أهله قلنا هذا حصر<sup>7</sup>  
الخاص للاهتمام به وذلك لا يدل على تحريم<sup>8</sup> ما سواه كما  
قال الله تعالى<sup>9</sup> إنما أنت منذر وكمة<sup>10</sup> إنما<sup>11</sup> للحصر وفيه  
إشارة إلى أن الإنذار مختص بك لأنك<sup>12</sup> خاتم النبيين  
وذلك لا يفيد الحصر إذ هو صلى الله عليه وسلم  
مبشر<sup>13</sup> ومبلغ<sup>14</sup> وغير ذلك فكذلك هاهنا فقد ذكر هذه  
الثلاث<sup>15</sup> بالحصر إما لأن فيها<sup>16</sup> ما هو موجب لإكمال

<sup>1</sup> بطريق B.<sup>2</sup> مطلقا B.<sup>3-3</sup> ذلك ذلك في ظنه P.<sup>4</sup> بالاتفاق B.<sup>5</sup> ثلاث P.<sup>6</sup> B adds مع.<sup>7</sup> حضر B.<sup>8</sup> تحريم B.<sup>9-9</sup> Bom.<sup>10</sup> P وكلامه.<sup>11</sup> P adds هو.<sup>12</sup> لا بك B.<sup>13</sup> P مبلغ.<sup>14</sup> P ومبشر B.<sup>15</sup> B الثلاثة, P الثلاثة.<sup>16-16</sup> P om.

<sup>3</sup> ظهور<sup>1</sup> الدين في الرمي والفرس أو التوادد<sup>2</sup> والتحاب<sup>3</sup>  
<sup>5</sup> لثبوت المودة<sup>4</sup> بين الزوج والزوجة والولد الحاصل بين<sup>5</sup>  
<sup>7</sup> المتحابين يكون رضي<sup>6</sup> الأخلاق والولد الذي يأتي<sup>7</sup> بين  
 المتنافرين يكون سيئ<sup>8</sup> الأخلاق  
<sup>10</sup> وقال الله تعالى الذين يستمعون القول فيتبعون<sup>9</sup>  
<sup>12</sup> أحسنه أولئك الذين هداهم الله وأولئك هم أولوا<sup>11</sup>  
 الأبواب<sup>13</sup> والقول أعم<sup>14</sup> من أن يكون قرآنا أو حديثا أو  
 حكاية حال<sup>15</sup> الصالحين أو سماع<sup>16</sup> الأشعار ثم مدح الله  
 تعالى مستمع القول ومتبع أحسنه بالهداية<sup>17</sup> والعقل<sup>18</sup> فيلزم  
 من هذا أن من<sup>19</sup> لم يسمع قول الغناء المفهوم<sup>20</sup> من مطلق  
 قوله يستمعون القول المشتمل على الحكمة بالصوت<sup>21</sup>  
 الحسن لم يكن الله<sup>22</sup> هداهم ولا وهبهم العقل ومن كان

<sup>1</sup> B ظهور.<sup>2-2</sup> P والتودد.<sup>3</sup> B adds لاهله.<sup>4</sup> P المدة.<sup>5</sup> B سن.<sup>6</sup> B يأتي.<sup>7</sup> P من.<sup>8</sup> B om.<sup>9</sup> B يستمعون.<sup>10</sup> B فيسعون.<sup>11</sup> P الدين.<sup>12</sup> P اولو.<sup>13</sup> P الاباب.<sup>14</sup> P om.<sup>15-15</sup> P وسماع.<sup>16</sup> P om.<sup>17</sup> P بالعقل.<sup>18</sup> P om.<sup>19</sup> P المفهوم.<sup>20</sup> B الصوت.

<sup>21</sup> A word which is not very clear has been added in B by another hand above the line. It begins with either يعال or يعل. It may be meant to be تعالى, which does not occur in the text after الله, or it may be يعلم and so be explanatory of هداهم; but if it is the latter, the tense is wrong.

غاويا<sup>1</sup> عن الهداية<sup>2</sup> كان ضالًّا إذ<sup>3</sup> الضلال ضد الهداية  
 والضال من أهل النار حيث جعل الضلالة<sup>4</sup> صفة<sup>5</sup>  
 النصرارى كما قال<sup>6</sup> تعالى<sup>7</sup> في حقهم قد ضلُّوا<sup>8</sup> من قبل  
 وأضلُّوا كثيرا فلزم من هذا أن من لم<sup>9</sup> يسمع قول<sup>10</sup>  
 الغناء المفهوم من مطلق قوله يستمعون القول الباقي<sup>11</sup> على  
 عمومهِ وعدم وجدان ما يخصُّه من الغناء بالصوت يكون  
 ضالًّا وكيف وقد اجتمعت الثلاثة في حضرة رسول الله  
 صلَّى الله عليه وسلَّم حيث قالت امرأة<sup>12</sup> يا رسول الله<sup>13</sup>  
 إنِّي نذرت أن أضرب بين يديك<sup>14</sup> بالدفِّ فقال<sup>15</sup>  
 صلَّى الله عليه وسلَّم إن كنت نذرت فاضربي فضربت  
 وغنَّيت<sup>16</sup> بيت<sup>17</sup>

طلع البدر علينا من ثنيتات الوداع<sup>18</sup>  
 وجب الشكر علينا ما دعا<sup>19</sup> لله داع<sup>20</sup>

<sup>1</sup> غاويًا B.

<sup>2</sup> الهداية B.

<sup>3</sup> إذا B.

<sup>4</sup> P om.

<sup>5</sup> صفة P.

<sup>6</sup> P adds الله.

<sup>7</sup> B om.

<sup>8</sup> P ضلُّوا.

<sup>9</sup> P om.

<sup>10</sup> P om.

<sup>11</sup> P الناقى.

<sup>12</sup> B عن.

<sup>13-18</sup> B رسول الله.

<sup>14</sup> B يدك.

<sup>15</sup> P adds رسول الله.

<sup>16</sup> P نذرتي.

<sup>17</sup> P om. B usually places this word before a poetical quotation. It is not to be taken here as obj. of the preceding verb (in which case it should have been بيتا), but simply as a sign that what follows is poetry.

<sup>18</sup> P داعي. <sup>19</sup> B and P دعى. Text follows C. <sup>20</sup> P داعي.



فقد<sup>1</sup> سمع<sup>2</sup> صلى الله عليه وسلم<sup>3</sup> بحكم هذا الحديث قول<sup>4</sup>  
 المرأة بالصوت والغناء وضرب الدف<sup>5</sup> فمن قال<sup>6</sup> إن حضور  
 السماع وضرب الدف والرقص حرام فكأنه<sup>7</sup> قال إن النبي<sup>8</sup>  
 صلى الله عليه وسلم فعل حراماً وأصغى إلى الحرام ومن  
 اختلج<sup>9</sup> في ظنه<sup>10</sup> ذلك<sup>11</sup> فقد كفر بالاتفاق ولا خلاف أن<sup>12</sup>  
 النذر لا ينعقد في الحرام

ومما<sup>13</sup> يؤكّد جواز الرقص ما ذكر في مسند  
 أحمد بن حنبل عن عليّ كرم الله وجهه أنه قال أتيت<sup>14</sup>  
 النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم أنا وجعفر وزيد فقال<sup>15</sup> لزيد  
 أنت مولاي فجل<sup>16</sup> وقال لجعفر أنت أشبهت<sup>17</sup> خلقي<sup>18</sup>  
 وخلقي<sup>19</sup> قال فجل<sup>20</sup> ثم قال لي أنت منّي فجلت<sup>21</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P وقد. <sup>2</sup> B قول. <sup>3-3</sup> P والدف والغناء. <sup>4</sup> B فكأنه.

<sup>5</sup> B احتلج. <sup>6-6</sup> P ذلك في ظنه. <sup>7</sup> B وما. <sup>8</sup> P ابن.

<sup>9</sup> B فقال. <sup>10</sup> P فخلج. <sup>11</sup> P يا جعفر. <sup>12</sup> B أشبهت.

<sup>13</sup> B خلقي. P خلقي. Text follows *Musnad* of Ahmad ibn Hanbal (i, p. 108).

<sup>14</sup> B وحلي. <sup>15</sup> P فخلج.

<sup>16</sup> P فخلج. This tradition has omissions of words, as compared with its form in the source quoted; but the author is presumably quoting from memory. As the omissions do not affect the sense, I have not felt it necessary to indicate Ahmad's rendering in every detail.

والحجل<sup>1</sup> رقص خاص<sup>2</sup> والعام جزء الخاص<sup>2</sup> أي داخل فيه  
فإذا جاز<sup>3</sup> نوع من الرقص جاز مطلقه

فإن قال المنكر سلمنا جواز التحجيل<sup>4</sup> فلم قلتم إنه  
يجوز التكثير<sup>5</sup> منه قلنا ما يدل<sup>6</sup> على جواز التكثير<sup>6</sup> منه أن<sup>8</sup>  
الشيء المطلق إذا جاز<sup>9</sup> بعضه<sup>10</sup> ولم يرد<sup>12</sup> النهي عن الباقي  
بقي على جوازه إذ لو كان البعض الآخر على الحرمة لوجب  
عليه<sup>13</sup> بيانه لقوله تعالى<sup>14</sup> وأنزلنا<sup>15</sup> إليك الذكر لتبين للناس  
فلو كان التكثير منه حراما لوجب عليه بيانه ولما لم ينههم  
عن ذلك دل<sup>16</sup> على جوازه

فهذه الأمور التي ذكرناها<sup>17</sup> تتعلق<sup>18</sup> بالكتاب<sup>18</sup>  
والسنة<sup>19</sup> وأما الذي يتعلق بالمنقول<sup>20</sup> فما روى أبو طالب<sup>22</sup>  
المكسي<sup>23</sup> صاحب قوت القلوب وهو ثقة عند أهل الإسلام  
أن بعض الصحابة مثل حارثة وعبد الله بن جعفر وغيرهما<sup>24</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P والحجل.

<sup>2</sup> B خاص.

<sup>3</sup> P جا.

<sup>4</sup> B التحجيل.

<sup>5</sup> B الكثير.

<sup>6</sup> B حواز.

<sup>7</sup> B الكثير.

<sup>8</sup> P om.

<sup>9</sup> P فإذا.

<sup>10</sup> B جار.

<sup>11</sup> B بعضه.

<sup>12</sup> B رد.

<sup>13</sup> P علينا.

<sup>14</sup> B om.

<sup>15</sup> P أنا أنزلنا.

<sup>16</sup> B ذكرنا.

<sup>17</sup> B يتعلق.

<sup>18</sup> B الكتاب.

<sup>19</sup> P وبالسنة.

<sup>20</sup> B بالمنقول.

<sup>21</sup> B P فيما.

<sup>22</sup> B طالب.

<sup>23</sup> P عن.

<sup>24</sup> P adds من.

<sup>25</sup> P ابن.

كانوا مواظبين لأهل مكة على السماع إلى زماننا هذا  
وأشار إلى وقت<sup>1</sup> أبي طالب نفسه وقد ذكر الماوردي<sup>2</sup>  
في الحاوي الكبير كلاما معناه أن بعض الصحابة بلغه  
أن عبد الله بن جعفر<sup>3</sup> مكب<sup>4</sup> على السماع مستغرق<sup>5</sup> أوقاته  
فيه فقال معاوية<sup>6</sup> لعمر بن العاص<sup>7</sup> قم بنا إليه فإنه غلب  
هواه على شرفه فأتيا<sup>8</sup> إليه وطرقا<sup>9</sup> عليه الباب فأمر  
جواريه<sup>10</sup> بالسكوت وأذن لهما بالدخول فلما استقر<sup>11</sup> هو  
بالجلوس فقال يا عبد الله مر هن<sup>12</sup> أن يرجعن<sup>13</sup> إلى ما كن<sup>14</sup>  
فيه فجعلن<sup>15</sup> يغنين ومعاوية<sup>16</sup> يحرك رأسه ويهن<sup>17</sup> رجله  
من فوق السرير<sup>18</sup> فقال عمرو بن العاص<sup>19</sup> إن من  
حيث تلحاه أحسن خلاصك<sup>20</sup> منه فقال صه يا عمرو  
إن<sup>21</sup> الكريم<sup>22</sup> لطروب وكان من كبار الصحابة وكاتب  
وحي رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ومتابعة الصحابة

1 P. وقته. 2 P إلى. 3 B جعفر. 4 Following C. B and P مكبا.

5 B. مستغرقا P، مستغرق C، مستغرقا. 6 B وقال.

7 B om. 8 P ابن.

9 P. رضي الله عنهم and adds العاصي P. فاتينا P.

11 P. فطرقنا. 12 B جواره. 13 P adds له. 14-14 B لرجعن.

15 B. ومعه. 16 B وهو يهن. 17 B السرير. 18 P adds له.

19 P. العاصي. 20 B حيث. 21 P خلاصك. 22 P adds يا معاوية.

23 P. فانه. 24 B الكريم.

توجب<sup>1</sup> الاهتداء حيث<sup>2</sup> قال النبي<sup>3</sup> صلى الله عليه  
وسلم أصحابي<sup>4</sup> كالنجوم بأيهم<sup>5</sup> اقتديتم<sup>6</sup> اهتديتم فمن  
امتنع من الاقتداء بهم انتفى<sup>7</sup> في حقه<sup>8</sup> الاهتداء  
فإن قال المنكر على تقدير<sup>9</sup> صحة هذا القول المنقول  
عن الصحابة<sup>9</sup> أنا أبايع<sup>10</sup> بعض الصحابة في جميع الصور  
إلا في السماع قلنا هذا لا يجدي<sup>11</sup> نفعا لأنه حيث<sup>12</sup>  
يكون حاله مع الصحابة كحال أبي لهب مع النبي<sup>13</sup>  
صلى الله عليه وسلم فإن له أن يقول أنا مؤمن بقولك  
يا محمد ومن جملة<sup>13</sup> قولك أنا لا أو من فأنا أصدقك<sup>14</sup> في  
هذا يقال له<sup>15</sup> هذا لا ينفعك لأن الإيمان<sup>16</sup> المعتبر هو الإيمان  
بجميع<sup>17</sup> ما أتى به النبي<sup>18</sup> صلى الله عليه وسلم لا ببعضه  
فكذا<sup>19</sup> حال من تابع<sup>20</sup> الصحابة<sup>21</sup> في بعض الأحوال إلا في  
السماع فإنه لا ينفعه

<sup>1</sup> P واجب رجب.

<sup>2</sup> P om.

<sup>3</sup> B om.

<sup>4</sup> أصحابي B.

<sup>5</sup> B بأيهم.

<sup>6</sup> B اقتديتم.

<sup>7</sup> P من.

<sup>8</sup> B تقدير.

<sup>9-9</sup> P om.

<sup>10</sup> اتابع (?) See above, l. 12.

<sup>11</sup> B يجدي.

<sup>12</sup> B جند P جند.

<sup>13</sup> جملة B.

<sup>14</sup> B اصدقك.

<sup>15</sup> P أنه.

<sup>16</sup> B الإيمان.

<sup>17</sup> B لجميع.

<sup>18</sup> بل عليه أن لا يبغضه. C has a different reading ببعضها P ببعضها B  
(nay, it is his duty not to hate it). This reading can hardly be correct,  
but it has the correct suffix.

<sup>19</sup> B فكذا. <sup>20</sup> B adds بعض. <sup>21</sup> B الصحابة P adds الصحابة.

فإن قال المنكر إنَّ أبا حنيفة<sup>1</sup> أو الشيخ أبا البيان  
حرّم السماع فأنا<sup>2</sup> أتابعه<sup>3</sup> في ذلك قلنا<sup>4</sup> يلزمه<sup>5</sup> أولاً حمل<sup>5</sup>  
قول أبي حنيفة<sup>6</sup> أنَّ ما<sup>7</sup> ثبت لفظه المبارك<sup>8</sup> به<sup>8</sup> الشيخ  
المذكور على سماع الملاهي المحرّمة وسماع الغناء<sup>9</sup> المضلّ  
الملهي لا على الغناء<sup>10</sup> المطلق وإلا لزمه<sup>11</sup> محذورات<sup>11</sup> أحدها<sup>11</sup>  
إمّا الكفر أو الفسق<sup>12</sup> وذلك لأنّ الأحاديث باعتبار وصولها<sup>12</sup>  
إليها ثلاثة أنواع أحدها<sup>13</sup> حديث متواتر الأصل متواتر الفرع<sup>13</sup>  
كحديث<sup>14</sup> القرآن والصلوة والزكاة<sup>15</sup> فجاحده<sup>15</sup> كافر وثانيها<sup>14</sup>  
حديث<sup>16</sup> آحاد الأصل مشهور الفرع كأحاديث<sup>17</sup> البخاريّ  
ومسلم<sup>18</sup> فجاحده<sup>18</sup> فاسق وثالثها حديث آحاد الأصل آحاد<sup>19</sup>  
الفرع<sup>20</sup> كحديث<sup>21</sup> أنا من الله والمؤمنون مني وغير ذلك

<sup>1</sup> P has the following note in the margin : فهم المجتهد حجة وهذا الإمام فن يجوز تقليده لأنه من القرون المشهود فيهم بالخبر فقد قال صاحب الشرع صلى الله عليه وسلم خير القرون قرني تم الذين يلونهم [تم] الذين يلونهم (cf. Al-Bukhārī, *Shahādāt*, 9) (MS. الذي) هو فيهم لأن الإمام النعمان رضي الله عنه ولد سنة ٧٥ ومات رحمه الله سنة ١٥٥ فهو أولى بالاتباع وقائل هذا الكلام متأخر (?) سنة ١٥٥

<sup>2</sup> P. فأنا.

<sup>3</sup> P. أتابعه.

<sup>4</sup> B. قلنا.

<sup>5</sup> B om.

<sup>6</sup> B adds رضي الله عنه.

<sup>7</sup> B om.

<sup>8</sup> B adds أو.

<sup>9</sup> P. الغني.

<sup>10</sup> P. الغني.

<sup>11</sup> P. المحذورات.

<sup>12</sup> P adds قطعاً.

<sup>13</sup> P. أحدها.

<sup>14</sup> P. كأحاديث.

<sup>15</sup> B. والزكاة، P.

<sup>16</sup> P. أحادي.

<sup>17</sup> P. كحديث.

<sup>18</sup> P adds رضي الله عنهما.

<sup>19</sup> P om.

<sup>20</sup> P. والفرع.

<sup>21</sup> P om.

فلا شيء على جاحده<sup>1</sup> وما ذكرناه<sup>2</sup> من الأحاديث على  
إباحة السماع وجواز سماع صوت الدف والغناء والأشعار آحاد<sup>3</sup>  
الأصل مشهور الفرع فان جحد<sup>4</sup> هذه<sup>5</sup> الأحاديث فسق وإن  
رجح<sup>6</sup> الرواية فيه<sup>7</sup> عن أبي حنيفة<sup>8</sup> أو غيره على قول النبي<sup>9</sup>  
صلى الله عليه وسلم<sup>9</sup> وفعله بأن يعتقد أن الرواية في  
تحريم السماع<sup>10</sup> مطلقا صحيحة صادقة وفعل النبي<sup>10</sup> صلى الله عليه  
وسلم وقوله غير صحيح وغير صادق<sup>11</sup> كفر بالاتفاق<sup>12</sup>  
وثانيها أنه يلزمه<sup>14</sup> الانحراف<sup>15</sup> في البيان وذلك أنه  
يؤول<sup>16</sup> كثيرا من الأخبار الصحيحة كقول النبي<sup>16</sup> صلى  
الله عليه وسلم للأعرابي<sup>17</sup> حينما صلى غير متم ركوعه  
وسجوده صل<sup>17</sup> فإنك<sup>18</sup> لم تصل<sup>19</sup> يقي الشارع<sup>19</sup> الصلوة  
بالكلية وهو يحمله<sup>20</sup> على الصلوة الناقصة وإنما تكون<sup>21</sup>  
ناقصة إن لو قال صل<sup>22</sup> وسكت وكذا قوله إذا بلغ الماء<sup>22</sup>  
قلتین لم يحمل<sup>23</sup> خبثا يؤول<sup>24</sup> بأنه لم يقو<sup>25</sup> على حمل الخبث

<sup>1</sup> جاحده. B<sup>2</sup> ذكرناه. B<sup>3</sup> أحاديث. P<sup>4</sup> جحد. B<sup>5</sup> هذا. P<sup>6</sup> رجع. B<sup>7</sup> فنيه. B<sup>8</sup> B adds الله عنه رضي.<sup>9-9</sup> B om.<sup>10</sup> تحرم. B<sup>11</sup> أو غير. P<sup>12</sup> P adds فقد.<sup>13</sup> بالاتفاق. B<sup>14</sup> يلزم. P<sup>15</sup> B adds إلا.<sup>16</sup> B يؤول. P<sup>17</sup> P صلى.<sup>18</sup> فانك. B<sup>19</sup> وقى. P<sup>20</sup> P تحمله.<sup>21</sup> B يكون.<sup>22-22</sup> P المقاتلين.<sup>23</sup> B تحمل.<sup>24</sup> P تقوى.<sup>25</sup> B الحث.

وهو خروج<sup>1</sup> عن المفهوم بنظيره إذا بلغ الماء بحرا عظيما  
لم يحمل خبثا وكذا قال هاهنا على حاله فذلك مثله وإن  
جعل تأويل<sup>2</sup> هذا كتأويل<sup>3</sup> ذلك خالف الإجماع مطلقا<sup>4</sup>  
وكذا قول النبي<sup>5</sup> صلى الله عليه وسلم<sup>6</sup> كل نكاح<sup>7</sup>  
لم يكن بولي<sup>8</sup> وشاهدي عدل فهو سفاح سفاح  
يثوّل في حقّ الصغيرة والأمة وقوله صلى الله عليه وسلم<sup>9</sup>  
الأيّم أحقّ بنفسها يثوّل في حقّ الحرّة البالغة وغير ذلك  
من الأحاديث فإذا جوّز<sup>10</sup> تأويل الأحاديث النبويّة<sup>11</sup> بما<sup>12</sup>  
لا يوافقه مجتهد آخر فتأويل<sup>13</sup> قول أبي حنيفة<sup>14</sup> أو الرواية<sup>15</sup>  
فيه إن ثبت بتحريم الغناء والسماع على سماع الفسق  
والفجور بطريق الأولى<sup>16</sup>

وثالثها أنّه يلزمه إخراج<sup>17</sup> أبي حنيفة رضي الله عنه  
من زمرة الأولياء وإدخاله في زمرة<sup>18</sup> منكري أهل الحقّ  
وذلك أنّ أولياء الله الكمل<sup>19</sup> أصحاب المقامات سمعوا السماع

<sup>1</sup> خروج B.<sup>2</sup> تأويل B.<sup>3</sup> التأويل P، كماويل B.<sup>4</sup> مطلقا B.<sup>5-6</sup> قوله B.<sup>6-7</sup> عليه السلام B.<sup>7</sup> نكاح B.<sup>8</sup> بولي B.<sup>9-10</sup> عليه السلام B.<sup>10</sup> حررنا P.<sup>11</sup> النبوة B.<sup>12</sup> بما B.<sup>13</sup> فتأويل B.<sup>14</sup> أبي B، <sup>15</sup> P adds عنه رضي الله عنه.<sup>16</sup> بتحريم B.<sup>17</sup> إخراج B.<sup>18</sup> مره P.<sup>19</sup> P المحمل B.

وتحرّكوا<sup>1</sup> فيه كما هو مذكور في سيرهم فلو قالوا<sup>2</sup> إنّ أبا حنيفة أنكر مطلق<sup>3</sup> السماع كان ذلك إنكاراً<sup>4</sup> على الأولياء وأبو حنيفة من الأولياء والوليّ لا ينكر على وليّ آخر مثله وإلاّ لكان<sup>6</sup> منكراً<sup>7</sup> على نفسه والمنكر على نفسه مستكمل<sup>8</sup> لا كامل<sup>8</sup> والمجتهد كامل فإذا<sup>9</sup> لو ثبت قول أبي حنيفة بتحريم السماع كان ذلك<sup>10</sup> مثولاً<sup>10</sup> بسماع الملاهي والفسق والفجور والكذب ولا نزاع في ذلك بين الكلّ

ورابعها [أنّه]<sup>11</sup> يلزمه ترك ما اشترط في صحّته العدالة واختيار ما لا يشترط فيه ذلك لأنّ أخذ الفقه من كتب الفقه لا يشترط في كتبه<sup>12</sup> الفقه عدالة<sup>13</sup> الكاتب ولا عدالة الراوي فجاز أن الكاتب في النسخة<sup>14</sup> الأولى<sup>15</sup> أو الثانية<sup>15</sup> زاد شيئاً أو نقص شيئاً فإذا لا يعتمد على ذلك حرماً<sup>17</sup> بخلاف الأحاديث النبوية<sup>18</sup> فإنّه<sup>19</sup> اشترط في صحّة

<sup>1</sup> P وتحركوا.<sup>2</sup> P adds قال.<sup>3</sup> P مطلقاً.<sup>4</sup> B انكاراً، P انكار.<sup>5</sup> P om.<sup>6</sup> B لكان.<sup>7</sup> B منكراً، P منكر.<sup>8-8</sup> P للاكمال.<sup>9</sup> B فاذن.<sup>10-10</sup> P من اسماع.<sup>11</sup> B and P om.<sup>12</sup> P كتب.<sup>13</sup> P العدالة.<sup>14</sup> B النسخة.<sup>15-15</sup> P والثانية B، أو البانية B.<sup>16</sup> P om.<sup>17</sup> P محرماً.<sup>18</sup> B النبوة.<sup>19</sup> P فإذا ترك قولاً.



روايتها<sup>1</sup> العدالة<sup>2</sup> ومن ترك قولاً اشترط في صحته  
العدالة<sup>2</sup> واختار قولاً لم يشترط في صحته<sup>3</sup> العدالة كان  
سفيهاً إذ السفيه هو من لا يختار<sup>5</sup> الأصح<sup>6</sup> لدينه ودنياه  
ولا يلتفت إلى قول السفيه  
فإن قال المنكر إن<sup>7</sup> هذه الأحاديث الواردة فيه  
آحاد<sup>8</sup> لا توجب القطع فلا نعمل بها<sup>10</sup> قلنا يلزمك أن  
لا تعمل بحديث من الآحاد<sup>13</sup> التي استدلو بها في تصحيح<sup>14</sup>  
أحكام الفقه من الآحاد<sup>15</sup> فإذا لم يعملوا بهذه<sup>18</sup>  
الأحاديث التي ذكرناها<sup>19</sup> لزمهم<sup>20</sup> أن لا يعملوا بأحاديث  
الآحاد في الفقه وحينئذ تبطل عليهم أحكام الفقه بأسرها  
واستدلو بقوله [تعالى]<sup>21</sup> وما كان صلوتهم عند البيت  
إلا مكاء وتصدية والمكاء الصغير والتصدية هي ضرب  
إحدى الراجحتين بالأخرى<sup>23</sup> يخرج<sup>24</sup> منهما صوت قلنا هذا

<sup>1</sup> روايته P، قايله.<sup>2-2</sup> P om.<sup>3</sup> قابل and adds صحة P.<sup>4</sup> P إذا.<sup>5</sup> يختاره P.<sup>6</sup> P الاصلاح.<sup>7</sup> P repeats.<sup>8</sup> P احاديث.<sup>9</sup> B يوجب.<sup>10</sup> P يعمل.<sup>11</sup> B به.<sup>12</sup> P adds له.<sup>13</sup> P في اثبات مسائل الفقه، B adds الاحاديث.<sup>14</sup> B تصحيح، P يصحح.<sup>15-15</sup> P om.<sup>16</sup> P فإن.<sup>18</sup> B بهذه.<sup>19</sup> B ذكرنا and adds.<sup>20</sup> B كلهم.<sup>21</sup> B and P om.<sup>22</sup> P احد.<sup>23</sup> B بالاخري.<sup>24</sup> B يخرج.

استدلال<sup>1</sup> غير موافق<sup>1</sup> لأنَّه<sup>2</sup> منعهم عن المكاء والتصديّة  
عند البيت ولا يلزم من منع شيء في حالة محرمة منعه في  
مقامات تباين<sup>3</sup> ذلك المحلّ ولهذا يجوز<sup>4</sup> للمرأة<sup>5</sup> في الصلوة<sup>5</sup>  
ضرب الراحة على ظهر كفِّها إذا نابها شيء ولا يجوز في  
غير هذه الحالة<sup>6</sup> ولما كان البيت معظماً والطواف حوله<sup>6</sup>  
صلوة<sup>7</sup> منعهم عن ذلك وإيضاً<sup>8</sup> قال وما كان صلوتهم<sup>9</sup>  
وما قال<sup>10</sup> وما كان سماعهم<sup>11</sup> فاذاً<sup>12</sup> لا يجوز من منع التصديّة  
حول البيت منعه في سائر المواضع

واستدلّوا<sup>13</sup> أيضاً بقوله تعالى<sup>13</sup> ومن الناس من  
يشترى<sup>14</sup> لهو الحديث ليضلّ<sup>15</sup> عن سبيل الله بغير علم<sup>15</sup>  
ولهو الحديث هو الغناء قلنا يفهم من قوله لهو الحديث  
أنَّه<sup>16</sup> يجوز سماع حقّ الحديث سواء كان قرآناً أو شعراً أو  
غير ذلك وقد ذكرنا أحاديث صحيحة<sup>17</sup> على جواز سماع  
صوت الدفّ والغناء والشعر وقد ورد إنَّ من الشعر<sup>18</sup>

<sup>1-1</sup> B غير موافق P فاسد. <sup>2</sup> P فانه. <sup>3</sup> B تباين. <sup>4</sup> P يجوز.

<sup>5-5</sup> P om. <sup>6-6</sup> P غيرها. <sup>7</sup> P صلاة. <sup>8</sup> B أيضاً.

<sup>9</sup> P adds عند البيت. <sup>10</sup> B ما. <sup>11</sup> P adds عند البيت.

<sup>12</sup> B فاذن. <sup>13-13</sup> B بقوله أيضاً. <sup>14</sup> B يشترى.

<sup>15-15</sup> P om. <sup>16</sup> P ان. <sup>17</sup> B om. <sup>18</sup> P om.

لحكمة فدلّ هذا النصّ<sup>1</sup> على أنّ لهو الحديث مختصّ  
 بسماع المضلّ الملهي عن الحقّ والعبادة وما يبعد العبد  
 عن الله تعالى فإ<sup>2</sup> لم يكن كذلك<sup>3</sup> فهو باق على الإباحة  
 وأيضا إذا ورد نصّ يفيد<sup>4</sup> العموم وجب أولا طلب  
 المخصّص<sup>5</sup> فإن وجد فذلك وإلا يحمل<sup>6</sup> على العموم كما  
 ورد في الخبر أحثوا في وجوه المدّاحين التراب ثمّ ورد  
 أنّه مدح النبيّ<sup>8</sup> صلى الله عليه وسلّم وأثنى<sup>9</sup> عليه ومنه  
 قول كعب بن زهير رضي الله عنه<sup>10</sup> بيت<sup>11</sup>

بانت سعاد فقلبي اليوم متبول

متيّم<sup>13</sup> أثرها لم يفد<sup>13</sup> مكبول

إلى أن وصل قراءة إلى قوله

[نبئت<sup>14</sup> أن رسول<sup>15</sup> [الله] أوعدني

والعفو عند رسول الله مأمول

<sup>1</sup> P had first *الحديث* and scored it out, but evidently began to write the word over again. The text stands thus: *والحد والنص*.

<sup>2</sup> P *وما*. <sup>3</sup> P *ذلك*. <sup>4</sup> P *فعل*. <sup>5</sup> P *المخصص*. <sup>6</sup> P *يحمل*.

<sup>7</sup> B *وجه*. <sup>8</sup> B *om.* <sup>9</sup> B *واناب*. <sup>10</sup> B *om.* <sup>11-11</sup> B *om.*

<sup>12</sup> P *om.* At this point B has a long omission which would amount to a complete folio. Parts of the matter omitted by B are included in C.

<sup>13-13</sup> Nöldeke, *Delectus*, لم يحجز عنها.

<sup>14</sup> Following Nöl. P *om.*

<sup>15</sup> Following Nöl. P *om.*

فَأَلْقَى إِلَيْهِ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ بِرِدَّتِهِ فَوَجِبَ  
حَمْلُ قَوْلِهِ أَحْشَوْا فِي وُجُوهِ الْمَدَّاحِينَ التُّرَابَ عَلَى مَدْحِ  
الْكَذِبِ وَالْفُسْقِ وَلِلْفُسْأَقِ فَهَكَذَا هُنَا وَجِبَ حَمْلُ لَهُوَ  
الْحَدِيثِ عَلَى الْكَذِبِ وَالْفُسْقِ وَالْمَلَاهِي وَمَا لَمْ يَكُنْ كَذَلِكَ  
فَهُوَ جَائِزٌ قِطْعًا

<sup>1</sup> فَإِنْ قَالَ الْمُنْكَرُ سَمَاعُ الْفُقَرَاءِ مَبَاحٌ بِمَا ذَكَرْتُمْ مِنْ  
الشَّرَائِطِ وَسَمَاعُ الْعَوَامِّ حَرَامٌ قُلْنَا <sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup> لَا يَحِلُّ لِأَجْدٍ أَنْ يَحِلَّ  
وَيَحْرَمُ فِي الشَّرْعِ مَا لَمْ يَنْصُ الشَّارِعُ عَلَيْهِ لَمَّا وَرَدَ فِي الْخَبَرِ  
الْحَلَالُ بَيْنَ وَالْحَرَامِ بَيْنَ وَبَيْنَهُمَا أُمُورٌ مُشْتَبِهَاتٌ وَقَالَ <sup>3</sup>  
اللَّهُ تَعَالَى وَلَا تَقُولُوا <sup>5</sup> لَمَّا تَصِفُ أَلْسِنَتُكُمُ الْكَذِبَ هَذَا  
حَلَالٌ وَهَذَا حَرَامٌ لَتَفْتَرُوا عَلَى اللَّهِ الْكَذِبَ فَمَنْ قَالَ إِنَّ  
السَّمَاعَ حَرَامٌ مُطْلَقًا فَقَدْ حَرَّمَ فِي الشَّرْعِ <sup>7</sup> مَا لَمْ يَرِدِ النَّصُّ  
بِهِ <sup>7</sup> إِذْ لَمْ يَرِدْ فِي كِتَابِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى <sup>8</sup> وَلَا فِي سُنَّةِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ

<sup>1-2</sup> فَإِنْ قَالَ سَمَاعُ الْعَوَامِّ حَرَامٌ وَسَمَاعُ الْفُقَرَاءِ وَاهِلُ الْمَوَاجِيدِ مَبَاحٌ قُلْنَا C.  
After this point it goes on to different matter. This is on F. 7a.

<sup>2-2</sup> On F. 6a C has وَبَيْنَهُمَا بَيْنَ وَالْحَرَامِ بَيْنَ وَبَيْنَهُمَا أُمُورٌ مُشْتَبِهَاتٌ فَإِذَا لَا يَحِلُّ لِأَحَدٍ أَنْ يَحْرِمَ السَّمَاعَ وَيَحِلَّ بَاقِيَ الشَّرْعِ مَا لَمْ  
يَرِدِ النَّصُّ. P has مُشْتَبِهَاتٌ. Al-Tirmidhī, *Buyū* 1, and Abū Dāwūd, *Buyū* 3, have مُشْتَبِهَاتٌ.

<sup>3</sup> قَالَ C.

<sup>4</sup> C om.

<sup>5</sup> تَقُولُوا P.

<sup>6</sup> C om.

<sup>7-7</sup> عَزَّ وَجَلَّ C adds. حَكَمًا بِرَأْيِهِ مِنْ غَيْرِ نَصٍّ مُعْتَقَدًا ذَلِكَ كُفْرًا.

<sup>8-9</sup> صَلَّى . . . . . سَلَّمَ P om. رَسُولُهُ عَلَيْهِ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ C.

صَلَّى الله عليه وسلَّم<sup>1 9</sup> ولا في كلام الصحابة رضي الله  
 عنهم<sup>2 1</sup> نص<sup>2</sup> بتحريم السماع والرقص ومن حرَّم في  
 الشرع ما ليس فيه اقترى على الله شيئا ومن اقترى  
 على الله شيئا كفر بالإجماع<sup>3</sup> وأيضا إن سماع العوام  
 ورقصهم تشبيه تفرجاتهم في البساتين سماع الحبشة  
 ورقصهم بين يدي رسول الله صَلَّى الله عليه وسلَّم ولا  
 خلاف في إباحة ذلك فكذلك حركاتهم في السماع<sup>3</sup>  
 وأيضا في الخبر من تشبّه بقوم فهو منهم وأصحاب الحق  
 المحض فرطوا الناس به وأولياء الله تعالى كالجنيد<sup>4</sup> وغيره  
 رضي الله عنهم تحرّكوا في السماع كما هو منقول عنهم  
 في رسالة القشيري وغيرها من الكتب فإن تحرّك عامي<sup>5</sup>  
 في السماع تشبّها بهم طالبا من تركاتهم كان مثلهم وقد  
 ورد في الخبر إن هؤلاء القوم لا<sup>6</sup> يشقى بهم جليسهم

<sup>1-1</sup> P om.

<sup>2-2</sup> C 2, after which C goes on to matter which has occurred already (p. 147 f.).

<sup>3-3</sup> C, continuing from end of p. 150, n. 1, has سماع العوام وتواجدهم على الصوت الموزون سماع بل يشبه سماع الحبشة بين يدي رسول الله صَلَّى الله عليه وسلَّم ورقصهم ولا شيء ورد على الامتناع فبقي على الإباحة فإذا سماع العوام كتفرجاتهم في البساتين ولا خلاف في إباحة ذلك فسماعهم مثله. P om. في.

<sup>4</sup> P كالجنيد.

<sup>5</sup> P تحرّكوا.

<sup>6</sup> P om.

فإن قال المنكر<sup>1</sup> إذا<sup>2</sup> تواجد<sup>3</sup> شخص في السماع على  
 محبة<sup>4</sup> إنسان أو على صورته<sup>5</sup> كان حراما<sup>6</sup> قلنا قد ورد في  
 الخبر<sup>7</sup> والذي نفسي بيده لا تدخلون<sup>8</sup> الجنة حتى  
 تؤمنوا ولا تؤمنوا حتى تحابوا<sup>9</sup> أولا أدلكم على شيء  
 إذا فعلتموه تحاببتم افشوا السلام بينكم وفي رواية تهادوا  
 وفي الخبر أيضا<sup>10</sup> ينادي الله تعالى يوم القيامة<sup>11</sup> أين المتحابون  
 لجلالي لهم منابر<sup>12</sup> من نور فيغبطهم<sup>13</sup> النبيون والشهداء<sup>14</sup>  
 فإذا تحاب<sup>15</sup> شخصان لله<sup>16</sup> تعالى وتحرك<sup>17</sup> أحدهما<sup>18</sup> على  
 محبة الآخر<sup>19</sup> لله تعالى<sup>20</sup> كان ذلك مباحا<sup>21</sup> إذ لم يعترف  
 بالباطل<sup>22</sup>

فإن قال المنكر لا يتحرك العامي إلا باللعب<sup>23</sup>  
 والباطل ومثل هذا اللعب حرام قلنا ورد في الخبر<sup>24</sup> إذا

<sup>1</sup> C om. <sup>2</sup> C لو. <sup>3-5</sup> C مجته أو على شخص أو صورة شخص. <sup>4</sup> C adds له. <sup>6-8</sup> C adds الحث على التحاب [التحاب] في الله عز وجل حيث قال عليه الصلاة والسلام <sup>9-11</sup> C. <sup>12</sup> Al-Tirmidhi, *Isti'dhān*, 1; Ibn Māja, *Adab*, 11, *تدخلوا*; Muslim, <sup>13</sup> P adds فينصب. <sup>14</sup> C adds فيقول. <sup>15</sup> C adds. <sup>16</sup> C adds. <sup>17</sup> C adds. <sup>18</sup> C adds. <sup>19</sup> C adds. <sup>20</sup> C adds. <sup>21</sup> C adds. <sup>22</sup> C adds. <sup>23</sup> C adds. <sup>24</sup> C adds.

وأما التواجد على الهوى والشهوة فلا يطلع على أخيك [MS. خنك] أحد <sup>19-18</sup> C. <sup>17</sup> C adds. <sup>16</sup> C adds. <sup>15</sup> C adds. <sup>14</sup> C adds. <sup>13</sup> C adds. <sup>12</sup> C adds. <sup>11</sup> C adds. <sup>10</sup> C adds. <sup>9</sup> C adds. <sup>8</sup> C adds. <sup>7</sup> C adds. <sup>6</sup> C adds. <sup>5</sup> C adds. <sup>4</sup> C adds. <sup>3</sup> C adds. <sup>2</sup> C adds. <sup>1</sup> C adds.

برز<sup>1</sup> من أخيك كلام<sup>2</sup> فلا تحمله على محمل السوء  
وأنت تجدل له محملا حسنا<sup>4</sup> فإذا رأينا مؤمنا موحدًا عاميًا  
كان أو غيره متحررًا في السماع ولم يعترف بالباطل وجب  
حمل<sup>5</sup> فعله على الحق فإن<sup>6</sup> كان المظنون<sup>7</sup> كما ظنّ فذاك وإلا  
فأمر اعتقاده إلى الله تعالى لا إلى الناظر إليه<sup>8</sup> وأيضا لما<sup>9</sup>  
تحررت<sup>10</sup> المذاهب واختار كل مجتهد ما غلب على ظنه بعد  
نظره في النصوص وتبع كل مجتهد<sup>11</sup> قوم فلا يليق لأحد  
أن يحظي<sup>12</sup> أحدا أصلا فعلى هذا السماع مباح<sup>13</sup> عند  
الشافعية مطلقا فلا لوم على من يفعله<sup>14</sup> من متابعيه<sup>15</sup> كما  
أن الزاني بالمرأة المستأجرة يسقط<sup>16</sup> عنه<sup>17</sup> الحد عند أبي  
حنيفة<sup>18</sup> فلا لوم لمن يفعل ذلك من متابعيه ولكن لو علم  
به الحاكم الشافعي حده ولم يلتفت إلى اجتهاده لورود  
الكتاب بذلك حيث قال الله تعالى الزانية والزاني<sup>19</sup>  
فاجلدوا<sup>20</sup> كل واحد منهما مائة جلدة<sup>21</sup> ولا يعارض النص<sup>22</sup>

<sup>1</sup> C بدا.<sup>2</sup> P كلاما.<sup>3</sup> P وان.<sup>4</sup> C branches off at this point.<sup>5</sup> B resumes here.<sup>6</sup> P وان.<sup>7</sup> P adds به.<sup>8</sup> B om.<sup>9</sup> P كما.<sup>10</sup> P تحررت.<sup>11</sup> B مجتهد.<sup>12</sup> B يحظى.<sup>13</sup> P يجوز.<sup>14</sup> B يفعل.<sup>15</sup> B متابعيه. P متابعتهم.<sup>16</sup> P الساحرة.<sup>17</sup> P يسقط.<sup>18</sup> B عند.<sup>19</sup> P adds الله عنه رضي.<sup>20</sup> B الكتاب.<sup>21</sup> P om.<sup>22-23</sup> B om.<sup>23-25</sup> B الزاني والزانية.<sup>24-26</sup> B om.

إلا مثله وليس للحنفي نصّ على تحريره<sup>1</sup> لا من الكتاب<sup>2</sup>  
ولا من السنة ولا من إجماع الأمة فإنكارهم على ذلك  
إنكار<sup>3</sup> على الشارع كما قرّرناه<sup>4</sup> وكذا في سائر المذاهب  
فإن قال المذکر<sup>5</sup> سلّمنا جواز ضرب الدفّ<sup>6</sup> من غير  
الصنوج فإنّ دفّ العرب<sup>7</sup> كان كذلك ولكن لا نسلم<sup>8</sup>  
جواز ضرب الدفّ<sup>9</sup> بالصنوج قلنا قد ثبت بما ذكرنا من  
الأحاديث جواز ضرب الدفّ<sup>9</sup> من غير الصنوج ولم يرد<sup>10</sup>  
في الصنوج شيء<sup>12</sup> لا بالتحريم<sup>13</sup> ولا بالكراهية فبقي على  
الإباحة فإن انضمّ<sup>14</sup> مباح لم يسمع إلى مباح يسمع صار  
الكلّ مباحا إن لم تدلّ قرينة على الجمع بينهما<sup>15</sup>  
بالتحريم كزواج<sup>20</sup> الأختين فإنّ زواج كلّ واحدة منهما  
على الانفراد<sup>21</sup> مباح والجمع بينهما حرام  
وأما القصب الفارسي فلم يرد فيه شيء فبقي على<sup>22</sup>  
الإباحة وأما المزمار<sup>23</sup> فنهيّ عن سماعه لما ورد في الخبر

<sup>1</sup> B تحرير. <sup>2</sup> الكتاب. <sup>3</sup> B إنكار. <sup>4</sup> P قدرناه.  
<sup>5</sup> B om. <sup>6-8</sup> P بالدف. <sup>7</sup> P العرف.  
<sup>8</sup> B سلم. <sup>9-9</sup> P om. <sup>10</sup> B, P الصنوج. <sup>11</sup> B يرد. <sup>12</sup> P يرد.  
<sup>13</sup> B الصنوج. <sup>14</sup> B بالتحريم. <sup>15</sup> P adds إلى. <sup>16</sup> P adds لا.  
<sup>17</sup> P om. <sup>18</sup> B يدل. <sup>19</sup> P adds المنع من. <sup>20</sup> B بينهما.  
<sup>21</sup> B كجواز. <sup>22</sup> P انفرادها. <sup>23</sup> P فهو باق. <sup>23-23</sup> P فحرم لانه.



أَنَّهُ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ<sup>1</sup> سَمِعَ صَوْتَ الْمَزْمَارِ فَسَدَّ  
أَذْنِيهِ

وأيضا يلزم لمنكر<sup>2</sup> الرقص والسماع وضرب الدفِّ  
وسماع الغناء محاربة<sup>3</sup> الله تعالى ومن حارب الله تعالى  
كفر بالاتفاق<sup>4</sup> وذلك أَنَّهُ<sup>4</sup> ورد في الخبر الصحيح من  
عادى لي<sup>5</sup> وليا فقد بارزني بالمحاربة<sup>7</sup> ولا خلاف بين  
المجتهدين في<sup>8</sup> وجدان الأولياء بينهم<sup>9</sup> واتفق<sup>10</sup> أهل جميع  
الأعصار<sup>10</sup> على صحّة ولاية الجنيد والشبلي<sup>10</sup> ومعروف  
الكرخي<sup>11</sup> وعبد الله بن خفيف<sup>11</sup> وغيرهم ممّن هم مذكورين  
في تذكّرة<sup>12</sup> الأولياء<sup>13</sup> وغير ذلك وقد صحّ<sup>14</sup> عنهم في  
سيرهم<sup>15</sup> أَنَّهُمْ تَوَاجَدُوا فِي السَّمَاعِ وَرَقَصُوا لِنَقْضِ مَا<sup>16</sup>  
سوى الله عن قلوبهم<sup>17</sup> فمن حرّم السماع مطلقا فكأنه<sup>18</sup>  
قال إِنْ هَؤُلَاءِ الْأَوْلِيَاءُ فَعَلُوا حَرَامًا وَمَنْ نَسِبَهُمْ إِلَى

جواز P adds المنكر، المنكر B<sup>2</sup>. عليه السلام B<sup>1-1</sup>.

المحاربة P<sup>7</sup>. فقد B<sup>6</sup>. عاد الي P<sup>5-5</sup>. ولذلك P<sup>4-4</sup>. محاربة B<sup>3</sup>.

أهل جميع الأعصار B، جميع أهل الأعصار P<sup>10-10</sup>. من P<sup>9</sup>. المجتهدين B<sup>8</sup>.

وتذكّرة P<sup>13</sup>. رسالة القشيري P<sup>12</sup>. الجنيف P<sup>11</sup>.

سيرهم B<sup>15</sup>. صحت B<sup>14</sup>.

لبعض P not clear. Looks like B<sup>16</sup>.

مطلقا B<sup>18</sup>. قلوبهم B<sup>17</sup>.

وكأنه B<sup>19</sup>.

مباشرة فعل<sup>1</sup> الحرام عا<sup>2</sup>دام قولاً واعتقاداً ومن عا<sup>3</sup>دام  
 بارز الحق تعالى<sup>4</sup> ومن بارز<sup>5</sup> الحق تعالى كفر بالاتفاق<sup>6</sup>  
 فقد باء<sup>7</sup> بغضب من الله وما<sup>8</sup>وه جهنم وبئس المصير<sup>9</sup>  
 فإذا ثبت ممّا ذكرناه<sup>10</sup> من التقريرات والدلائل<sup>11</sup>  
 والأحاديث أنّ السماع مباح مطلقاً وأنّ منكره إمّا<sup>12</sup>  
 كافر<sup>13</sup> أو فاسق<sup>14</sup> وهذا أشدّ<sup>15</sup> استحباباً في حقّ المريد<sup>16</sup>  
 واجب في حقّ أولياء الله تعالى بالنسبة<sup>17</sup> إلى مقاماتهم<sup>18</sup>  
 لأنّهم المجردون عمّا سوى<sup>19</sup> الله إلى الله تعالى قال الله<sup>20</sup>  
 تعالى يريدون وجهه<sup>21</sup> فكلّمّا<sup>22</sup> وجدوا شيئاً من الصور<sup>23</sup>  
 حملوه على المعاني الغيبية كما قال<sup>24</sup> صلى الله عليه وسلم<sup>25</sup>  
 في حقّ أسيد بن الحضير حين قال يا رسول الله كنت<sup>26</sup>

<sup>1</sup> B الفعل.<sup>2</sup> P adds وفعلاً.<sup>3</sup> P adds بالمحاربة.<sup>4</sup> B بارز.<sup>5</sup> B بالاتفاق.<sup>6-8</sup> B وباء، P وباء.<sup>7</sup> B, C وماواه. P وماواهم. Only C quotes Qur. viii, 16, accurately.<sup>8</sup> B ذكرنا.<sup>9</sup> B, P التقريرات.<sup>10</sup> P كافرًا. <sup>11</sup> P فاسقًا.<sup>12</sup> Following C. B أكد. P وهو كذا صابر. <sup>13</sup> B واجب.<sup>14</sup> B أوليا.<sup>15</sup> B بالنسبة.<sup>16</sup> B سوى.<sup>17</sup> B om. P adds كما.<sup>18</sup> P adds في حقهم.<sup>19-20</sup> B يريدون وجه الله. P يريدون وجهه.<sup>21</sup> B فكل ما. P وكلما.<sup>22</sup> P قصدوا.<sup>23</sup> P adds رسول الله.<sup>24-25</sup> B عليه السلام.<sup>26-27</sup> B أسد بن حصين. P أسيد بن حضير.<sup>28-29</sup> B لرسول. P لرسول.<sup>30</sup> P adds صلى الله عليه وسلم.

أقرأ<sup>1</sup> البارحة سورة الكهف فإذا فوق رأسي سحابة فيها  
 مثل المصاييح قال<sup>2</sup> تلك<sup>3</sup> السكينة ولم يجعل السحابة على  
 حالها والسكينة فعيلة<sup>4</sup> من السكون وهو الاطمئنان  
 إلى أنوار عالم الغيب الواردة عليه<sup>5</sup> بسبب<sup>6</sup> تردده  
 ومروره<sup>7</sup> على صورها<sup>8</sup> وهي ألفاظ القرآن فكذلك  
 أولياء الله تعالى<sup>9</sup> يحملون الصور على المعاني لتركهم  
 مراتب الصور وسيرهم في<sup>10</sup> مراتب المعارف<sup>10</sup> فالدفع<sup>10</sup>  
 عندهم إشارة إلى دائرة الأكوان<sup>11</sup> والجلد الراكب عليه<sup>11</sup>  
 إشارة<sup>12</sup> إلى الوجود المطلق والضرب الوارد على الدفع<sup>12</sup>  
 إشارة إلى ورود الواردات الإلهية من باطن البطون على  
 الوجود المطلق لإخراج الأشياء الذاتية من الباطن إلى  
 الظاهر والجلال الخمسة إشارة إلى المراتب النبوية<sup>13</sup>  
 والمراتب الولائية والمراتب الرسالية والمراتب الخلايفية<sup>14</sup>  
 والمراتب الإمامية وصوتها<sup>15</sup> مجموعاً إشارة إلى ظهور  
 التجليات الإلهية<sup>16</sup> والعلم المطلق بواسطة<sup>17</sup> هذه المعاني<sup>18</sup>

1 أقرأ. B

2 P adds عليه السلام.

3 B ذلك.

4 فعلة. B

5-6 P om.

6 P لسبب.

7 P وترده.

8 P ضوئها.

9 B om.

10-11 B المعاني.

11-11 P والجلدة الراكبة عليها.

12 P om.

13 B النبوة.

14 P الخلافة.

15 B وصوتها.

16 B الالهيات. 17 P بواسطة.

في قلوب الأولياء وأهل الكمال ونفس<sup>1</sup> المعنى صورة  
 رتبة<sup>1</sup> الحق تعالى وتقدس<sup>2</sup> إذ هو محرّك<sup>3</sup> الأشياء وموجد<sup>4</sup>ها  
 ومقنيها<sup>5</sup> وصوت المغنّي إشارة<sup>6</sup> إلى الحيوة الربّانية<sup>7</sup> الواردة  
 من باطن<sup>8</sup> البطون إلى مراتب الأرواح والقلوب والأسرار  
 والقصب إشارة<sup>9</sup> إلى الذات الإنسانية<sup>10</sup> والأثقاب التسعة<sup>11</sup>  
 إشارة<sup>12</sup> إلى منافذه في الظاهر وهي تسعة الأذنان والمنخران<sup>13</sup>  
 والعينان<sup>14</sup> والفم والقبل والدبر وتسعة أثقاب أخرى<sup>15</sup> مقبولة  
 من الظاهر إلى الباطن وهي الإبطان<sup>16</sup> وبطن المرفقين وتحت  
 الركبتين<sup>17</sup> وبطن الكوعين والسرة وتسع مراتب في  
 الباطن وهي القلب والعقل والروح والنفس والسرّ  
 والجوهر الإنساني<sup>18</sup> واللطفية الذاكرة<sup>19</sup> والفؤاد<sup>20</sup> والشغاف<sup>21</sup>  
 والنفس النافذ<sup>22</sup> في القصب إشارة<sup>23</sup> إلى نفوذ<sup>24</sup> نور الله  
 تعالى<sup>25</sup> في قصب ذات الإنسان<sup>26</sup> وتحركهم في السماع

<sup>1-1</sup> P الصورة الى رتب

<sup>2</sup> P om.

<sup>3</sup> P كما.

<sup>4</sup> P ومنشها.

<sup>5</sup> B الرابته.

<sup>6</sup> B باطن.

<sup>7</sup> B السعة.

<sup>8</sup> P منافذه.

<sup>9</sup> P العينان.

<sup>10</sup> B والمنخران P والاذنان.

<sup>11</sup> P والمنخران.

<sup>12</sup> B, P اخر.

<sup>13</sup> B الظاهر.

<sup>14-14</sup> P واليدان وتحت الركبتين وبطن المرفقين

<sup>15</sup> P والعواذ.

<sup>16</sup> Following C.

<sup>17</sup> P والشغاف B والشغاف.

<sup>18</sup> P النافذ.

<sup>19</sup> P نفوذ.

<sup>20</sup> B om.

<sup>21</sup> B الاسان.

إشارة إلى تذكّر<sup>1</sup> طير الحقيقة الإنسانية<sup>2</sup> في  
مقام<sup>2</sup> الخطاب<sup>3</sup> الأزلي<sup>4</sup> أأست برّبكم<sup>5</sup> واضطراب  
الروح لكسر قفص الجسم ورجوعه<sup>6</sup> إلى الوطن  
الحقيقي<sup>7</sup> حيث قال حبّ الوطن من الإيمان<sup>7</sup> أي وطن  
الأرواح الذي أوجد الروح فيه<sup>8</sup> حيث قال ونفخت فيه  
من روحي والرقص إشارة<sup>10</sup> إلى جولان الروح حول  
دائرة الموجودات<sup>11</sup> لقبول آثار التجليات<sup>12</sup> والتنزيلات<sup>13</sup>  
وهذا حال المعارف والقتل إشارة<sup>14</sup> إلى وقوف<sup>15</sup> الروح  
مع الله بسرّه ووجوده وجولان نظره وفكره ونفوذ<sup>16</sup>ه في  
مراتب الموجودات وهذا<sup>17</sup> حال المحقّق<sup>18</sup> فطفّره إلى  
فوق<sup>18</sup> إشارة إلى انجذابه<sup>19</sup> من المقام الإنساني إلى المقام  
الأحدّي واكتساب<sup>20</sup> الكائنات منه آثارا روحانيّة  
وأمدادا نوريّة فإذا خرج<sup>21</sup> روحه عن الحجاب ووصل

1 تذكّارهم P.

2-2 B om.

3 خطاب B.

4 B om. P adds في وقت.

5 برّكم B.

6 ورجوعه B.

7-7 P repeats.

8 منه P.

9 كما P.

10 P om.

11 الموجودات P.

12 التجليات B.

13 والتنزيلات.

14 والفعل P.

15 P adds سر.

16 ونفوذ P، نفوذ B.

17 وَهَذَا B.

18-18 P طرق الدفوف.

19 انجذابه P.

20 بواسطة adds : واكتسابه P.

21 خرج B.

إلى مراتب الصواب كشف رأسه فإذا تجرّد عن ما  
 سوى الله<sup>1</sup> واتّصل إلى الله تعالى<sup>2</sup> خلع ثيابه فان كان  
 المغني صاحب حال ومقام ألقى<sup>3</sup> إليه<sup>4</sup> ثيابه وإن لم يكن  
 كذلك<sup>5</sup> فاللقاء إليه ظلم لأنّ ثوب<sup>6</sup> صاحب الحال<sup>7</sup> صورة  
 حاله ولا يستحقّ قبول حاله إلا من هو في رتبته وإن<sup>8</sup>  
 ارتقى إلى مقام علويّ والمغني يتكلّم في مقام سفليّ ألقى<sup>9</sup>  
 إليه بيتا<sup>10</sup> مناسبا لحاله فإن أشكل عليه أمر<sup>11</sup> غنى عنه<sup>11</sup>  
 ووقف حاله عليه أخذ غيره وجال معه ليجتمع<sup>13</sup> حاله  
 بحاله وتنحل<sup>14</sup> عقده فتى<sup>15</sup> عطش وطلب شرب الماء دلّ<sup>16</sup>  
 على أنّه يقهر لأنّ مقام الروح مقام الصفاء وعداوة<sup>17</sup>  
 من الأنوار فإذا عطش دلّ على أنّه<sup>18</sup> رجع إلى مقام<sup>19</sup>  
 الجسد إذ مقام الروح<sup>20</sup> التغذي<sup>21</sup> بالغيب فلا يحتاج إلى<sup>22</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P adds تعالى.<sup>2</sup> B om.<sup>3</sup> B القا.<sup>4</sup> P عليه.<sup>5</sup> B om.<sup>6</sup> B صوت.<sup>7</sup> P adds الحال.<sup>8</sup> P فان.<sup>9</sup> B القا.<sup>10</sup> P شيئا.<sup>11-11</sup> B غيبي.<sup>12</sup> B وحال.<sup>13</sup> B ليجتمع.<sup>14</sup> B بحاله.<sup>15</sup> P وتنجلي.<sup>16</sup> B فتى.<sup>17-17</sup> B om., P وعداوة.<sup>18-18</sup> B om.<sup>19</sup> P om.<sup>20-20</sup> P مقام.<sup>21</sup> P adds الروح.<sup>22</sup> P التغذي.<sup>23</sup> P ولا.

الظاهر ومقام الجسد التغذي<sup>1</sup> بالصورة فعند رجوعه<sup>2</sup> من<sup>3</sup>  
الغيب إلى الشهادة يطلب الماء وذلك يدل<sup>4</sup> على النقص  
وأما المعنى المعقول الدالّ على شرف السماع<sup>5</sup> فوجوده  
التناقض من<sup>5</sup> وجوه أحدها<sup>6</sup> أنّ الأحوال اللاحقة للشيء  
قسيان حركة وسكون فالحركة صفة الأرواح<sup>7</sup> والأسرار  
والسكون<sup>7</sup> صفة الأجساد والصور الكثيفة والحرارة  
والتلطيف من لوازم الحركة والجمود والتغير<sup>8</sup> من لوازم  
السكون ولهذا لو بقي<sup>9</sup> الماء في جرّته<sup>10</sup> ولو كان<sup>11</sup> كثيرا  
لتغير بمرور الزمان وإن كان جاريا قليلا لم يتغير فإذا أثر<sup>12</sup>  
الصوت الموزون في الباطن حرّك<sup>13</sup> الروح إلى طلب<sup>14</sup>  
الارتقاء فتحرك<sup>17</sup> الجسد بحركة الروح فيحصل في وجوده  
حرارة<sup>18</sup> فتحلّ فضلات<sup>18</sup> وجوده ويظهر في قلبه آثار  
مشهودة<sup>19</sup> وذلك بفعل<sup>20</sup> السماع  
وثانيها أن<sup>21</sup> الغذاء الحسيّ<sup>22</sup> يقوّي الجسد وحصول

<sup>1</sup> B التغذي.<sup>2</sup> P adds ذلك.<sup>3</sup> B رجوعه. <sup>3</sup> P رجوعه.<sup>4</sup> P دليه. <sup>5-6</sup> B om.<sup>6</sup> P أحدهما.<sup>7-7</sup> P والأسرار.<sup>8</sup> B والتغير. <sup>8</sup> P والتغير.<sup>9</sup> B بقي.<sup>10</sup> B حوّة.<sup>11</sup> P كانت.<sup>12</sup> B جاريا.<sup>13</sup> P نزل.<sup>14</sup> P حركة.<sup>15</sup> P اي.<sup>16</sup> B طلب.<sup>17</sup> B وتحرك.<sup>18-18</sup> B حركة ساكن.<sup>18</sup> P فتحلّ فضلة.<sup>19</sup> P مشهوره.<sup>20</sup> P قتل.<sup>21</sup> P om.<sup>22-22</sup> P الغدي الحسي.

ذلك بمباشرة الغذاء<sup>1</sup> والغذاء<sup>2</sup> الروحي<sup>3</sup> يقوّي القلب والسرّ  
 وذلك بمباشرة آلات<sup>4</sup> استنزال<sup>5</sup> الروح<sup>6</sup> والنور والحياة  
 من العالم الغيبيّ وهو تحريك الروح بسمع المعاني الغريبة<sup>7</sup>  
 من الأشعار الرقيقة وترك التعلّقات الكونيّة  
 والانجذاب<sup>8</sup> إلى المنازل الروحانيّة وآلة<sup>9</sup> حصول هذه  
 الأنوار<sup>10</sup> اجتماع الإخوان وطلب المدد من الله الرحمن<sup>11</sup>  
 وثالثها أنّ السماع يجرّد<sup>12</sup> الشخص عن الأمور  
 الظاهرة ويميله إلى قبول الأنوار والأسرار الباطنة  
 فكلّما زاد وجدّه في السماع زاد سيره وطيره في عالم<sup>13</sup>  
 الأرواح وعند كثرة ازدياده يرقّ قلبه ويقبل من<sup>14</sup>  
 آثار فيض الله تعالى وتجليّاته فيحصل<sup>15</sup> له مقام الوصول  
 من غير رياضة<sup>16</sup> جديدة<sup>17</sup>  
 ورابعها أنّ الصوت هو<sup>18</sup> نافذ<sup>19</sup> من الظاهر إلى  
 الباطن ويتّصل بالقلب فينبسط القلب والروح بواسطة<sup>20</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P om., B الغذاء.

<sup>2</sup> P والغذاء.

<sup>3</sup> P adds والغذاء.

<sup>4</sup> P والآلات.

<sup>5</sup> P واستنزال.

<sup>6</sup> B om.

<sup>7</sup> B الغريبة.

<sup>8</sup> P والانجذاب.

<sup>9</sup> P حضوره هذه الانواع.

<sup>10</sup> B الرحمن.

<sup>11</sup> B مجرد.

<sup>12</sup> B وكلما.

<sup>13</sup> P ازدياد.

<sup>14</sup> P رقى.

<sup>15</sup> B يقبل، P ويقبل.

<sup>16</sup> B ويحصل.

<sup>17</sup> B رياضة.

<sup>18</sup> B حدية.

<sup>19</sup> P رابعها.

<sup>20</sup> P adds بادي.

<sup>21</sup> P نافذ.

<sup>22</sup> P في القلب.



اختلاف النغمات الموزونة وبعده<sup>1</sup> المعاني الواردة على.  
 الروح في مراتب الموجودات<sup>2</sup> فإذا اتبع الروح الجسد  
 في الحركة وتبع الجسد الروح في الحضور والنور والسرور  
 تجرد<sup>3</sup> عن التوهّمات والتخيّلات فتنفذ<sup>4</sup> في القوى  
 الجسديّة المعاني المتّصلة<sup>5</sup> في الروح فينجذب<sup>6</sup> الجسد إلى  
 مقام الروح ويرتفع الحجاب فيشاهد<sup>7</sup> تلك المعاني  
 والحقائق دفعة وهذا مقام الكمال العيانيّ الذي لا  
 يحصل بكثير<sup>8</sup> من الرياضات<sup>9</sup>

وخامسها أنّ السماع سكون<sup>10</sup> في الباطن وحركة في  
 الظاهر<sup>11</sup> وما سواه من العبادات غير الصوم حركة في  
 الظاهر والحركة في الظاهر تناسب الكثرة فكلّما<sup>12</sup>  
 كثرت الحركة في السماع وقوي السكون في القلب  
 تجرد<sup>13</sup> عما سوى الله تعالى فظهر<sup>14</sup> فيه الوجد وانجذب<sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P وتعدد.<sup>2</sup> P adds والقلب.<sup>3</sup> P وتجرد.<sup>4</sup> B فتنفذ. P فتنفذ.<sup>5</sup> B المفصّله.<sup>6</sup> P فينجذب.<sup>7</sup> B فيشاهد.<sup>8</sup> B مكثير.<sup>9</sup> P adds انواع.<sup>10</sup> B wrote first مكتوب and blurred the word somewhat in changing it into سكون.<sup>11</sup> B الظاهر and adds والحركة في الظاهر.<sup>12</sup> B وكلما. P فلما.<sup>13</sup> B om.<sup>14</sup> B, P ظهر.<sup>15</sup> وانجذب P.

إلى الجنب الأُحدِيّ فيشاهد بنظر السرّ العوالم<sup>1</sup>  
 الإلهيّة<sup>2</sup> ويدرك أسراراً ربّانيّة<sup>3</sup> لا يحيط بها<sup>4</sup>  
 العقول والأفهام وأمّا الأركان الثلاثة كالصلوة والحجّ  
 والشهادتين فإنّها وإن كانت حركة في الظاهر<sup>5</sup> والباطن  
 ولكن قد يظهر من<sup>6</sup> بين الحركتين سكون روحيّ  
 وجهي<sup>7</sup> يؤدّي صاحبه إلى الفناء والبقاء وأمّا الصوم  
 فإنّه سكون في الظاهر<sup>8</sup> والباطن وقد يخرج<sup>9</sup> من بين  
 السكونين حركة من الله بالله<sup>10</sup> لله وذلك هو الإطلاق  
 التام<sup>11</sup> والحكم العامّ فإذا سرّ<sup>12</sup> السماع بمراتبه مشتمل على  
 حقائق الأركان الخمسة فالصلوة والحجّ<sup>13</sup> والشهادتان من  
 مراتب ظاهرة والصوم والزكوة<sup>14</sup> من مراتب باطنة  
 وقد يحصل للإنسان في السماع من الكمالات ما لا  
 يحصل بالمواظبة على كثير<sup>15</sup> من العبادات  
 وسادسها أنّ السماع يشتمل على الأحوال الكميّة

<sup>1</sup> P الفوالم. <sup>2</sup> B الهية. <sup>3-3</sup> B أسراراً ربّانيّة. <sup>4</sup> B به.

<sup>5</sup> P om. <sup>6</sup> P om. <sup>7</sup> P وجهي. <sup>8</sup> B الظاهر.

<sup>9</sup> B يخرج. <sup>10</sup> P بالله. <sup>11</sup> P التام. <sup>12</sup> P هذا.

<sup>13</sup> B والحج. <sup>14</sup> B والزكوة. <sup>15</sup> P والزكوة. <sup>16</sup> P ما سواء.

الَّتِي هِيَ نِهَآيَاتُ<sup>1</sup> الْمَقَامَاتِ فَسَيْنُهُ وَمِيْمُهُ يَشِيْرُ<sup>2</sup> إِلَى السَّمِّ  
 يَعْنِي أَنَّ سَرَّ السَّمَاعِ كَالسَّمِّ يَمُوْتُ<sup>3</sup> الشَّخْصَ عَنِ التَّعَلُّقَاتِ  
 الْغَيْرِيَّةِ وَيُوْصِلُهُ إِلَى الْمَقَامَاتِ الْغَيْبِيَّةِ<sup>4</sup> وَعَيْنُهُ وَمِيْمُهُ  
 يَشِيْرُ<sup>5</sup> إِلَى مَعَ<sup>6</sup> يَعْنِي أَنَّ السَّمَاعَ يُوْصِلُ<sup>7</sup> الشَّخْصَ إِلَى  
 الْمَعِيَّةِ الْذَاتِيَّةِ الْإِلَهِيَّةِ<sup>8</sup> قَالَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ لِي مَعَ اللَّهِ وَقْتُ  
 لَا يَسْعُنِي فِيهِ مَلِكٌ مُقَرَّبٌ وَلَا نَبِيٌّ مُرْسَلٌ وَسَيْنُهُ وَمِيْمُهُ  
 وَأَلْفُهُ<sup>9</sup> يَشِيْرُ<sup>10</sup> إِلَى السَّمَاءِ لِيَشْعُرَ<sup>11</sup> أَنَّ السَّمَاعَ يَصِيْرُ<sup>12</sup>  
 الشَّخْصَ عَلَوِيًّا سَمَآوِيًّا وَيُخْرِجُهُ عَنِ الْمَرَاتِبِ السَّفَلِيَّةِ وَأَلْفُهُ  
 وَمِيْمُهُ يَشِيْرُ<sup>13</sup> إِلَى الْأُمِّ لِيَعْلَمَ<sup>14</sup> أَنَّ صَاحِبَ السَّمَاعِ أُمٌّ كُلِّ  
 مَنْ سِوَاهُ<sup>15</sup> فَيَأْخُذُ الْمَدَدَ مِنَ الْغَيْبِ بِرُوحَانِيَّتِهِ<sup>16</sup> وَيَفِيضُ  
 عَلَى مَا سِوَاهُ<sup>17</sup> الْحَيَوَةِ وَالْعِلْمِ الْمَشِيْرِ إِلَيْهَا<sup>18</sup> كَلِمَةُ مَاءٍ<sup>19</sup> وَعَيْنُهُ  
 وَمِيْمُهُ تَشِيْرُ<sup>20</sup> إِلَى عَمِّ<sup>21</sup> أَيَّ يَعْصِمُ<sup>22</sup> صَاحِبَ السَّمَاعِ بِرُوحَانِيَّتِهِ<sup>23</sup>

<sup>1</sup> B نِهَآيَهُ.

<sup>2</sup> For gender and number of this verb, cf. Wright, *Grammar*, i, 181B; ii, 297B.

<sup>3</sup> P adds بِهِ.

<sup>4</sup> P العَيْنِيَّةِ.

<sup>5</sup> B شِيْرَ.

<sup>6</sup> P مَعْنَى.

<sup>7</sup> B يُوْصِلُ.

<sup>8</sup> P adds كَمَا.

<sup>9</sup> P om.

<sup>10</sup> B تَشِيْرَ.

<sup>11</sup> P يَشْعُرَ.

<sup>12</sup> B يَصِيْرُ.

<sup>13</sup> B يَشِيْرَ.

<sup>14</sup> P adds ذَلِكَ.

<sup>15</sup> P مَا.

<sup>16</sup> P من رُوحَانِيَّتِهِ.

<sup>17</sup> P adds مِنَ الْمَوْجُودَاتِ.

<sup>18</sup> P من رُوحَانِيَّتِهِ.

<sup>19</sup> B الْحَيَاةِ.

<sup>20</sup> P إِلَيْهَا، إِلَيْهَا.

<sup>21</sup> P مَا.

<sup>22</sup> P تَشِيْرَانِ.

<sup>23</sup> P أن صَاحِبَ السَّمَاعِ يَزْعُمُ.

<sup>24</sup> P رُوحَانِيَّتِهِ.

العلويّات وبجياة قلبه الانسانيّات وبنور نفسه الركيّة<sup>1</sup>  
 الجسمانيّات<sup>2</sup> وغير ذلك من الأحوال<sup>3</sup> فإذا<sup>4</sup> صاحب السماع  
 يرتقي إلى المقامات العالية والنفحات<sup>5</sup> الربانيّة<sup>6</sup> التي لا  
 يصل إليها بألف اجتهاد وأكمل رياضات<sup>7</sup> وفوائد السماع  
 تبلغ إلى مائة فائدة ومائة ألف حال يحدها صاحب الذوق  
 والوجد والبصيرة<sup>8</sup> ولا ينكر السماع إلا أعمى القلب  
 عديم النور كثير الحجاب غافلا عن الله تعالى<sup>9</sup> مائلا إلى  
 النفس والهوى قال الله تعالى<sup>10</sup> وإذا سمعوا ما أنزل إلى  
 الرسول ترى أعينهم تفيض من الدمع ممّا عرفوا من  
 الحقّ يقولون ربّنا آمنا بما كتبتنا مع الشاهدين وما لنا لا  
 نؤمن بالله وما جاءنا من الحقّ ونطمع أن يدخلنا ربّنا مع  
 القوم الصالحين

الخاتمة في بيان كيفية السماع المعتبر عند الأولياء  
 أرباب<sup>11</sup> الأحوال والمقامات لتحريك أرواحهم<sup>12</sup> إلى عالم  
 القدس وتذكّارهم مقام الأنس

<sup>1</sup> الركيّة B.<sup>2</sup> الجسمانيّة P.<sup>3</sup> المراتب التيّبه P.<sup>4</sup> والنفحات P.<sup>5</sup> الرانيّة B.<sup>6</sup> ما P adds.<sup>7</sup> رياضات B.<sup>8</sup> واليقين P.<sup>9</sup> B om.<sup>10</sup> B om.<sup>11</sup> وارباب P.<sup>12</sup> احوالهم P.

فإذا أرادوا ذلك اجتمعوا ضحوة النهار<sup>1</sup> بعد الفراغ  
 من صلوة الضحى<sup>2</sup> أو بعد<sup>3</sup> العشاء<sup>4</sup> بعد الفراغ من وردهم<sup>5</sup>  
 قراءة كان أو ذكراً<sup>6</sup> وأية<sup>7</sup> عبادة<sup>8</sup> كانت فإذا قعدوا<sup>9</sup> قرأ<sup>10</sup>  
 أرقهم صوتاً<sup>11</sup> مثل<sup>12</sup> وينجي<sup>13</sup> الله الذين اتقوا بمفازتهم لا<sup>14</sup>  
 يمسمهم السوء ولا هم يحزنون إلى قوله تعالى<sup>15</sup> وكن من  
 الشاكرين أو<sup>16</sup> إن المتقين في جنّات وعيون آخذين<sup>17</sup>  
 ما آتاهم ربهم<sup>18</sup> إنهم كانوا قبل ذلك<sup>19</sup> محسنين إلى<sup>20</sup>  
 قوله تعالى تنطقون أو<sup>21</sup> والسماء بنيانها بأيدي وإنّا<sup>22</sup>  
 لموسعون إلى قوله تعالى ففرّوا إلى الله<sup>23</sup> إنني لكم<sup>24</sup>  
 منه نذير مبين أو<sup>25</sup> ألم تر أنّ الله أنزل من السماء ماء  
 فتصبح الأرض مخضرة<sup>26</sup> إنّ الله لطيف خبير وأشبه  
 ذلك وفي الجملة<sup>27</sup> يقرأ آيات دالة على طلب الترقّي  
 والازدياد والعناية والحماية<sup>28</sup> ثم يتكلّم الشيخ على معنى

1 P. نهار.

2-2 P. الصبح.

3-3 P. وبعد.

4 P. adds. من.

5-5 B. قرأه وذكراً.

6 B, P. وای.

7 P. عبارة.

8-8 P. وقرأ فوقهم صوتاً مثلاً.

9 B. صوتاً.

10 B. وينجي.

11 B. الذين.

12 P. بمفازتهم.

13 B. om.

14 P. لو قرأ.

15 B. اخدين.

16 B. ربهم.

17 B. ذلك.

18 B. om.

19 B, P. ينطقون.

20 P. om.

21 B. om.

22 P. om.

23 P. om.

24 B. محضه.

25 P. الحكمة.

26 B. والحماية.

27 B. يتكلم.

28 P. om.

هذه الآيات<sup>1</sup> بما<sup>2</sup> يليق بمقام السلوك فيقول قال رسول  
الله صلى الله عليه وسلم إنَّ للقرآن ظهراً<sup>3</sup> وبطناً وحداً  
ومطلماً فظاهر هذه الآيات في الأكوان لأهل الاعتبار  
وباطنها في الإنسان لأهل الكشف<sup>4</sup> والأسرار فمعنى<sup>5</sup>  
هذه الآية وينجى<sup>6</sup> الله أي أنقذ<sup>7</sup> الذين اتَّقوا<sup>8</sup>  
مراتب<sup>9</sup> النفس والهوى وخرجوا عن الموانع من  
الدفع<sup>10</sup> والاتواء فنجاهم الله تعالى من التعلق بما سوى  
الله<sup>11</sup> والانجذاب<sup>12</sup> إلى الله تعالى<sup>13</sup> وقبول التعريفات  
الإلهية من غير واسطة حيث قال<sup>14</sup> الله تعالى<sup>14</sup> واتَّقوا<sup>14</sup>  
الله ويعلمكم الله وكل عقولهم بالحكمة والمعرفة وكل  
قلوبهم بالأحوال<sup>15</sup> والأذواق<sup>16</sup> والمواجيد<sup>16</sup> وكل نفوسهم  
بالأعمال الصالحة والأخلاق الزكية<sup>17</sup> لحمل<sup>18</sup> كل موجود<sup>18</sup>  
على مراد الله تعالى<sup>19</sup> ثم ردهم من الحق إلى الخلق يستنقل<sup>20</sup>  
بواسطتهم<sup>20</sup> آثار الصفات الإلهية<sup>21</sup> من الحياة والعلم

<sup>1</sup> الآيات.<sup>2</sup> ما.<sup>3</sup> طهراً.<sup>4</sup> الكشف.<sup>5</sup> في حق.<sup>6</sup> وينجى.<sup>7</sup> يهدي الله P ، أنقذ B<sup>8</sup> امره.<sup>9</sup> النفوس.<sup>10</sup> الرفع B<sup>11</sup> تعالى P adds<sup>12</sup> والانجذاب P<sup>13</sup> B om.<sup>14-14</sup> B om.<sup>15</sup> B قلوبهم<sup>16-16</sup> B والادوات والمواحد<sup>17</sup> B الركة<sup>18</sup> فيحمل P<sup>19</sup> B om.<sup>20-20</sup> P تستيل بواطنهم<sup>21-21</sup> P om.

إلى غيرهم فحين مفارقتهم الحضرة الألوهية<sup>21</sup> بالعقل  
والنفس وتعلّقهم بما سوى الله تعالى<sup>1</sup> لرؤية آثار<sup>2</sup> أفعاله  
وإكمال<sup>3</sup> مراتب معقولاته لا يمسه<sup>4</sup> بهذا التعلّق  
العارضي<sup>6</sup> السوء<sup>7</sup> أي بعد واحتجاب من الحضرة  
الأحدية إذ هم مع الله<sup>8</sup> بسرّهم<sup>9</sup> وروحهم ومع الخلق  
بحسّهم<sup>10</sup> ونفسهم<sup>10</sup> ولا هم يحزنون لعدم ذهاب ما عندهم  
من المنازل والمقامات والأحوال

ويقول على المثل الثاني إن المتّقين بترك ما سوى  
الله<sup>11</sup> والانجذاب إليه سرّاً وعلانية في جنّات المعارف  
والعلوم الغيبية<sup>12</sup> آخذين من الله ما آتاهم من التجليات  
والتعريفات إنهم كانوا قبل ذلك أي<sup>13</sup> في حال<sup>14</sup> السلوك  
والسير والطلب محسنين مع نفوسهم بالتزام الأحكام

<sup>1</sup> B om.<sup>2</sup> آثار.<sup>3</sup> P والكمال.<sup>4</sup> P يتسهم.<sup>5</sup> B بهذا.<sup>6</sup> P القارضي.<sup>7</sup> P الو.<sup>8</sup> P الحق.<sup>9</sup> P برهم.<sup>10-10</sup> P بحسبهم نفوسهم.

<sup>11</sup> B adds والا. It comes at end of a line. Presumably the scribe was beginning the next word, and found he had not enough room, but he makes no erasure.

<sup>12-12</sup> P اللدنيه وعيون العلوم العلييه.

<sup>13</sup> P om.<sup>14</sup> P om.

والشرائع ومع عقولهم بالمداومة<sup>1</sup> على<sup>2</sup> الأفكار<sup>3</sup> الصالحة  
وفهم<sup>4</sup> الأسرار<sup>5</sup> التوحيدية

وعلى الثالث والسماء أي<sup>6</sup> سماء الأرواح بنيانها أي<sup>9</sup>  
أظهرناها<sup>7</sup> من الغيب الإلهي<sup>8</sup> إلى قضاء الوجود بأيدي<sup>9</sup>  
أي بالقدرة والعلم والإرادة<sup>10</sup> وإننا لموسعون<sup>10</sup> مراتب<sup>9</sup>  
الأرواح ليتجلى فيها من أنواع الأسرار التوحيدية<sup>10</sup>  
والمراتب الوجدية<sup>11</sup> والأرض أي<sup>12</sup> أرض القلوب<sup>13</sup>  
النقية الطاهرة<sup>15</sup> فرشناها أي بسطناها أرض القلوب<sup>14</sup>  
ليظهر منها أنواع الحكم<sup>16</sup> والمعارف والحلم<sup>16</sup> واللطائف<sup>16</sup>  
فنعم<sup>17</sup> الماهدون أي بسطناها<sup>18</sup> بسطا قدرياً<sup>19</sup> لا حكيمياً<sup>19</sup>  
ولهذا تحيط<sup>20</sup> بالوف<sup>21</sup> من أنواع العلوم والمعارف ومن<sup>21</sup>  
كل شيء خلقنا زوجين<sup>22</sup> أي<sup>23</sup> مثل الروح والجسد<sup>22</sup>  
والصورة<sup>24</sup> والمعنى والحسن والخلق وغير ذلك لعلكم

<sup>1</sup> P الواهه. <sup>2</sup> P om. <sup>3</sup> B الاوكار. <sup>4</sup> B وفهم. P om.

<sup>5</sup> P الاسرار. <sup>6</sup> P om. <sup>7</sup> B اظهرنا. P اظهرنا.

<sup>8</sup> B الالهى. <sup>9</sup> P بأيدي. <sup>10-10</sup> P وان المطعون.

<sup>11</sup> P الواحدية. <sup>12</sup> P om. <sup>13</sup> B اراضي. <sup>14</sup> B القلوب.

<sup>15</sup> P om., B الظاهرة. <sup>16-16</sup> P om. <sup>17</sup> B فنعهم.

<sup>18</sup> B بسطنا. <sup>19</sup> B قدرياً. <sup>20</sup> B يحيط. <sup>21</sup> P بالد.

<sup>22</sup> B زوجين. P adds اثنين. <sup>23</sup> P om. <sup>24</sup> P والصوت.



تذكرون<sup>1</sup> أن رتبة الحكمة مشتملة على الأسباب  
والمسببات ورتبة القدرة<sup>2</sup> ظهور<sup>3</sup> الأشياء من غير واسطة  
فقرّوا من الشهادة إلى الغيب ومن الأسماء إلى المسمّى<sup>4</sup>  
ومن الصفات إلى الذات ومن الفناء إلى البقاء

ويقول على المثل الرابع<sup>5</sup> ألم تر بنظر البصيرة أن  
الله<sup>6</sup> أنزل<sup>7</sup> من سماء الأرواح مطر العلوم<sup>8</sup> والمعارف على  
أرض القلوب النقيّة الطاهرة<sup>9</sup> من الميل إلى ما سوى الله<sup>8</sup>  
فتصبح<sup>10</sup> أرض القلوب<sup>11</sup> مخضرة<sup>12</sup> بأنواع العبادات  
والتوجّهات والأخلاق الرضيّة مثل الكرم والصفح  
والشفقة والتواضع<sup>13</sup> والإيثار وغير ذلك<sup>13</sup>

ثمّ يشرع القول<sup>14</sup> بذكر كلام عرفانيّ وقول  
ربّانيّ مثل<sup>15</sup>

لك<sup>16</sup> في القلوب منازل ومقام لا العقل يدركها ولا الأفهام  
فإن قيل جعلت للحقّ تعالى<sup>17</sup> منزلاً ومقاماً<sup>18</sup> وذلك

<sup>1</sup> تذكرون. B

<sup>2</sup> المقدّر. P

<sup>3</sup> ظهور. B

<sup>4</sup> المسمّى. P

<sup>5-5</sup> B, P مثل الثالث.

<sup>6</sup> P adds تعالى.

<sup>7</sup> B أنزل.

<sup>8-8</sup> P om.

<sup>9</sup> الظاهرة. B

<sup>10</sup> B فيصبح.

<sup>11</sup> B القلب.

<sup>12</sup> P here takes والشفقة والتواضع, misplacing from line below.

<sup>13-13</sup> P om.

<sup>14</sup> P القول.

<sup>15</sup> P om.

<sup>16</sup> P له.

<sup>17</sup> P om.

<sup>18</sup> P ومقامات.

تجسيم<sup>1</sup> قلنا إنما قيل كذلك<sup>2</sup> تمسكا<sup>3</sup> بقول الشارع  
الحكيم حين سئل<sup>4</sup> أين الله في الأرض قال في قلوب<sup>5</sup>  
عباده المؤمنين ومثل<sup>6</sup>

كلّ صبح وكلّ إشراق<sup>8</sup> تبك<sup>9</sup> عيني بدمع مشتاق  
قد لسعت حية الهوى كبدي فلا طيب لها ولا راق<sup>10</sup>  
إلا الحبيب الذي شغفت به فعنده رقتي<sup>11</sup> وترياق<sup>12</sup>

ومثل قوله<sup>13</sup>

قم بنا يا سعد نطوي اليد طي<sup>13</sup> في ولاء الحبّ القاه إلى<sup>14</sup>  
لي غرام في هواه عنّ لي حكم أحوال الصفا في كلّ حيّ  
رمت محو الذات إجلالا له ليس وصف جامع إلا إليّ<sup>15</sup>  
قام بي كلّ المراتب دائما إنها أحكام فتح يا أخيّ<sup>16</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P تمّيم. <sup>2</sup> P adds معه. <sup>3</sup> B عسكا. <sup>4</sup> B سال. <sup>5</sup> B قلوب.

<sup>6</sup> P om. <sup>7</sup> B مثل, P adds قوله. <sup>8</sup> P اشراقي.

<sup>9</sup> P تبكي, which is gramm. correct, but does not suit metre.

<sup>10</sup> P راق. <sup>11</sup> B رقتي. <sup>12</sup> P وترياق.

<sup>13-14</sup> B om. At foot of page ومثل is written in corner to indicate that it is the first word of the next page, but it is omitted there.

<sup>14</sup> I have included this poem because it is given in B, but it can hardly have been part of the original work, as it seems like a copy of the first poem in the *dirwān* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ (576-632/1180-81-1234-5), who lived at a later period than the author of this work.

<sup>15</sup> B فتح. <sup>16</sup> B أخيّ.

لا يراني من له في نفسه حظّ فهم<sup>1</sup> في شمس الوجد في  
 زادني حال الفنا في حبّه لا أبالي النشر<sup>2</sup> أو في حكم طي  
 كلّ أوصاف بدا في حكمه ذاك سرّ الجمع منكم أو إلي<sup>3</sup>  
 يا أسيحابي لماذا تذكروا حالي بعد<sup>4</sup> اعتراف لي فتّي  
 أنصبتني في صفاء راحه مثل نصب الفعل نحو<sup>5</sup> لام كي<sup>6</sup>  
 جاءني بشرى وصال بالبقا صاد آساد الورى هذا الظبي<sup>7</sup>

## ومثل

علم الحقيقة علم كشف شامل لمراتب الأكوان والألوان<sup>8</sup>  
 فإذا فنيت عن التصور فاهما أدركت حكم حقائق الرحمان  
 لا عقل للحظّ المحقّق كثرة من كنه وحدة ذاته المتان  
 إن كنت قاصد فتح باب جامع حقق حقائق كون كلّ مكان

<sup>1</sup> B فهم.<sup>2</sup> B النشر.<sup>3</sup> B علي. For the explanation of this change, see note on translation.<sup>4</sup> B بعد.<sup>5</sup> B إهرامي, but it might be read اعترافي with the dots omitted. اعتراف is impossible, as it breaks the metre. I have adopted اعتراف as it fits the metre with a very slight change from the MS.<sup>6-8</sup> B لا مري. The change is made following l. 21 of Ibn al-Fārid's poem. I am indebted to Professor R. A. Nicholson for this emendation.<sup>7</sup> B هذا.<sup>8</sup> This poem is also wanting in P.

ثمّ انسلخ عن رؤية<sup>1</sup> الصور التي منها جوامع صفوة الإيمان  
فإذا رفعت لواء مجد شامخ ومحوت آثار الهوى وهوان  
حققت حينئذ جوامع سرّه وفهمت وحدة وجهه<sup>2</sup> المنان

ومثل قوله

كلّ الوجود بفيض<sup>3</sup> جودك<sup>4</sup> ناطق وجمال وجهك<sup>5</sup> في البصائر شارق  
ونهاية العشاق في فلواتهم بدء<sup>6</sup> المحبّ ومن حواه حقائق  
لما بدأ من حكم سرّ جامع رفع الحجاب<sup>8</sup> وذاك أمر<sup>8</sup> خارق  
جاء التجلّي من مقام صفاته وحى فواتح ليس فيها طارق  
أعطى لوائح<sup>10</sup> مكرمات ساطع آبت<sup>11</sup> إليه مغارب ومشارق  
هذا الذي أظهرت من كنه<sup>12</sup> الصفا

حقّ الحقيقة وهو سرّ فائق

أبكار خدر<sup>13</sup> العشق وقت جلائه شدّت على أوساطهنّ مناطق<sup>14</sup>  
لا تطلب<sup>15</sup> العرفان في آثاره والفتح<sup>17 16</sup> رفع والفناء موافق<sup>17</sup>  
بل رم كمال الجو في إجلاله ليكون<sup>19</sup> قلبك منه فيه دوافق<sup>18</sup>

<sup>1</sup> روة B.

<sup>2</sup> وجهه B.

<sup>3</sup> بفضل P.

<sup>4</sup> جودك B.

<sup>5</sup> وجهك B.

<sup>6</sup> بل P.

<sup>7</sup> بد P.

<sup>8-8</sup> P من.

<sup>9</sup> فيها B.

<sup>10</sup> لوائح P.

<sup>11</sup> انت P.

<sup>12</sup> B كه.

<sup>13</sup> P حذر.

<sup>14</sup> B مناطق.

<sup>15</sup> B يطلب.

<sup>16</sup> P om.

<sup>17-17</sup> P رفعت والغنا.

<sup>18</sup> P om. line.

<sup>19</sup> B ليكون.

فإن وقع من<sup>1</sup> القوَال شعر<sup>1</sup> فيه وصف الخدّ والخال  
والقدّ<sup>2</sup> حمل على خدّ النبيّ صلّى الله عليه وسلّم وخاله  
وقدّه

وأما آلات الملاهي فكلّها<sup>3</sup> حرام عند الجمهور  
كالجُنك والرباب<sup>4</sup> والعود والبربط والمزمار وما أشبه ذلك  
إلا الدفّ<sup>5</sup> فإنّه<sup>6</sup> ورد في جواز سماع الدفّ حديثان  
صحيحان في البخاريّ ومسلم فتبعه صلّى الله عليه وسلّم<sup>7</sup>  
أصحاب الأذواق<sup>8</sup>

وشرط اجتماعهم أن لا يكون بينهم أمر د ولا طاقة  
ينظر منها إليهم<sup>9</sup> النسوان<sup>10</sup> فإن حضر بينهم<sup>11</sup> من<sup>12</sup> المرد  
الصلحاء قعدوا خلف الرجال<sup>13</sup> فإذا وجدوا في باطنهم تحرّكا  
تحرّكهم<sup>15</sup> كحركة من دعي<sup>16</sup> إلى خدمة<sup>17</sup> ملك كبير القدر  
والإقبال على الله تعالى<sup>18</sup> لا يقوم صاحب وجدهم إلا بعد  
الغلبة فيوافقه القوم ولا يتصنّع بالرقص ولا يتكلّف بل<sup>19</sup>

<sup>1-1</sup> P الاقوال الشعرية.

<sup>2</sup> P والصغ.

<sup>3</sup> B فكلها.

<sup>4</sup> B والرباب.

<sup>5</sup> B الدف.

<sup>6</sup> P om.

<sup>7</sup> B om.

<sup>8</sup> P الارادات.

<sup>9-9</sup> P اليهم منها.

<sup>10</sup> P نسوان.

<sup>11</sup> B بينهم.

<sup>12</sup> P om.

<sup>13</sup> B حلف.

<sup>14</sup> B الرجال.

<sup>15</sup> P فحركتهم.

<sup>16</sup> P ادعن.

<sup>17</sup> P حرمة.

<sup>18</sup> B om.

<sup>19</sup> P om.

تكون<sup>1</sup> حركاتهم بحكم الحال كغلوب من قلق أو<sup>2</sup>  
اضطراب<sup>3</sup> ضروري<sup>4</sup> فإذا أخذت أرواحهم حظاً<sup>5</sup> من  
الأحوال الغيبية ورقت قلوبهم من الأنوار الذاتية  
وتمكن<sup>6</sup> في الصفاء والأنوار الروحية قعدوا والمزمزم  
يزمزم زمزمة خفيفة<sup>7</sup> لإخراجهم<sup>8</sup> بالتدرج<sup>9</sup> من الباطن  
إلى الظاهر فإذا سكت<sup>10</sup> قرأ<sup>11</sup> غير القارئ<sup>12</sup> الأول  
مثل<sup>13</sup> هذا عطاؤنا فامنن أو أمسك بغير حساب إلى  
قوله تعالى<sup>14</sup> أولي الأبواب<sup>15</sup> أو إن الذين<sup>16</sup> قالوا ربنا  
الله ثم استقاموا إلى قوله تعالى<sup>17</sup> ذو حظ عظيم وما  
أشبه ذلك فإن كان فيهم<sup>18</sup> من بقيت فيه<sup>19</sup> بقية حال  
أو استغراق ثنى<sup>20</sup> القول في<sup>21</sup> نحر أخف<sup>22</sup> من الأول  
فإن قعدوا<sup>23</sup> ثلث<sup>24</sup> في نحر<sup>25</sup> وسط بين الثقيل<sup>26</sup>  
والخفيف<sup>27</sup> إذ<sup>28</sup> المراتب الكلية ثلاث رتبة الإنسان<sup>29</sup>

1 P تكون.

2-3 P واضطراب.

3 B ضروري.

4 B حظاً.

5 P تمكن.

6 حقيقة P, خفيفة B.

7 P لإخراجهم.

8 B بالتدرج.

9-10 P om.

10-10 P القارئ غير.

11 P om.

12 B om.

13 P اولو.

14-14 P وان.

15 B الدين.

16 B ربنا.

17 B om.

18-18 P om.

19 P om.

20 P بين.

21 B من.

22-22 P بحر اللطف واخف.

23 P قعدوا.

24 P ثبت.

25 P بحر.

26 P من.

27 B القبل.

28 B الخفيف.

29 B إذا.

ورتبة الملك ورتبة الربويّة<sup>1</sup> وعندها السكون المطلق ثمّ<sup>3</sup>  
 يقومون من محلّ السماع<sup>2</sup> إلى منازلهم<sup>3</sup> ويقعدون<sup>4</sup>  
 مراقبين<sup>5</sup> لكشف ما لاح لهم<sup>4</sup> حالة استغراقهم في<sup>5</sup>  
 الوجد<sup>6</sup> فمنهم من يستغني أيّاما بعد السماع عن الغذاء<sup>7</sup> بما  
 تغدّيت<sup>8</sup> أرواحهم وقلوبهم<sup>9</sup> بالواردات<sup>10</sup> الغيبيّة هذا  
 طريق<sup>11</sup> القوم ولا ينكر لمثل هذه الأحوال من له أدنى  
 حظّ من الدين والنور

ولمّا تأخّر الزمان<sup>12</sup> ساءحوا<sup>12</sup> نظر<sup>13</sup> النسوان الصالحاء<sup>13</sup>  
 اللاتي منهم إليهم من الطاقات وغير ذلك واجتماعهم  
 بالمرء الصالح<sup>14</sup> دون غيرهم ولم يزل كذلك إلى أن تشبّه  
 بهم العوامّ واختلط<sup>15</sup> الصالح بالطالح<sup>15</sup> فاختلّ النظام  
 فينثد يجب على كلّ أحد الأخذ بحاله وماله ويترك  
 الغير كمن سكن بين<sup>16</sup> المرضى فعليه الاشتغال بنفسه  
 فقط وهكذا كان الدّين في أوّل الزمان غصّاً<sup>17</sup> طريّاً<sup>18</sup>

<sup>1</sup> الربويّة B.

<sup>2</sup> منازلهم P.

<sup>3</sup> ويقعدون P.

<sup>4</sup> مراقبين B, P om.

<sup>5-5</sup> ما لاح لهم من افشا الكشف P.

<sup>6</sup> الوجد B.

<sup>7</sup> الغذاء P.

<sup>8</sup> تغدّيت P, تغدي B.

<sup>9</sup> وقلوبهم B.

<sup>10</sup> بالواردات B.

<sup>11</sup> طريق B.

<sup>12-12</sup> ساءوا فعل P.

<sup>13</sup> الصالحا P.

<sup>14</sup> من الطالحا P.

<sup>15-15</sup> المصالح بالطالح P.

<sup>16</sup> B, <sup>17</sup> الذين P.

<sup>18</sup> غصّا P, طريّاً B.

متيناً<sup>1</sup> غير مشوب<sup>2</sup> بشيء من الاعتقادات الفاسدة  
والآراء<sup>3</sup> المضلة فكلما<sup>4</sup> تأخر الزمان فسدت الاعتقادات  
وكثرت الأعمال المضلة كما أخبر الشارع عن<sup>5</sup> ذلك  
بقوله ستفترق<sup>6</sup> أمتي على ثلاث<sup>7</sup> وسبعين فرقة الناجية  
واحدة والباقي هلكي<sup>8</sup> قيل<sup>9</sup> يا رسول الله<sup>9</sup> ومن<sup>10</sup> الفرقة  
الناجية قال ما أنا عليه وأصحابي

فوجب الآن على كل صاحب تقوى أن يلتزم  
بما<sup>11</sup> هو الحق ويترك الباطل فكذلك السماع المستحب<sup>12</sup>  
بين الأولياء ما<sup>13</sup> ذكرنا وعند اختلاط الصالح بالطالح وجب  
على كل صاحب ذوق ووجد<sup>14</sup> أن يلتزم بالسماع بشروطه  
الممكنة ولا ينغزل عنه بقول منكر ومعاند فإن ذلك  
يوجب ترك التشبه<sup>15</sup> بالأولياء<sup>16</sup> وحينئذ يخرج عن حكم<sup>17</sup>  
قوله عليه السلام من تشبه<sup>18</sup> بقوم فهو منهم

وأما الفقراء المنتسبون<sup>18</sup> إلى هذه الطائفة وليسوا

<sup>1</sup> مبنياً P.

<sup>2</sup> منسوب P.

<sup>3</sup> والآراء P.

<sup>4</sup> فكلما B.

<sup>5</sup> بنحو P.

<sup>6</sup> ستفترق P.

<sup>7</sup> ثلاثة P.

<sup>8</sup> هلكاً P.

<sup>9-9</sup> رسول B.

<sup>10</sup> P adds هي.

<sup>11</sup> بما P.

<sup>12</sup> الميشتحب B.

<sup>13</sup> وما P.

<sup>14</sup> P ووجب.

<sup>15</sup> التشبه P.

<sup>16</sup> B وحيد.

<sup>17</sup> من P.

<sup>18</sup> P المنسوبون.



منهم خالهم بالنسبة إلى الأولياء المتقدمين كحال فقهاء  
الزمان بالنسبة إلى الفقهاء المتقدمين أصحاب الورع  
والتقوى<sup>1</sup> وذلك أن قاعدة الفقه<sup>2</sup> تقتضي<sup>3</sup> الزهد والورع<sup>4</sup>  
والتقوى والقناعة باليسير من الدنيا وعدم طلب  
الفضلات<sup>5</sup> وعدم السعي<sup>6</sup> إلى أبواب الملوك إلا لقضاء  
حوائج الناس والمداومة على ما كان عليه النبي صلى الله  
عليه وسلم<sup>7</sup> وكان من دأبه صلى الله عليه وسلم<sup>7</sup> أجوع  
يوماً وأشبع يوماً وقالت عائشة رضي الله عنها ما شبع  
رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم<sup>8</sup> منذ قدم المدينة<sup>8</sup>  
خبر برفع قدرته صلى الله عليه وسلم<sup>9</sup> خبر برفع قدرته صلى الله عليه وسلم<sup>10</sup>  
إضعاف التلذذات مع<sup>11</sup> مسامحة الحق تعالى بذلك حيث<sup>12</sup>  
قال تعالى<sup>13</sup> يَا أَيُّهَا الرُّسُلُ كُلُوا مِنَ الطَّيِّبَاتِ وَاعْمَلُوا  
صَالِحًا وَاعْدَمُوا بَنَاءَ مَا لَا يَحْتَاجُ إِلَيْهِ<sup>14</sup> لما ورد في الخبر<sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> B والتقوى.<sup>2</sup> P حالهم.<sup>3</sup> B تقتضي.<sup>4</sup> P مطلب.<sup>5</sup> B الفضلات.<sup>6</sup> P السلوك.<sup>7-7</sup> P om.<sup>8-8</sup> P om.<sup>9</sup> P خبر.<sup>10</sup> P برفع.<sup>11-11</sup> P repeats.<sup>12</sup> P اصناف.<sup>13</sup> B التلذذات.<sup>14-14</sup> P ما كان مسامحاً بحق الله.<sup>15</sup> P الله adds.<sup>16</sup> B om.<sup>17</sup> B P يا ايها.<sup>18-18</sup> P منا.<sup>19</sup> B يحتاج.<sup>20</sup> P اليها.<sup>21</sup> P om.

من بنى<sup>1</sup> فوق ما يحتاج<sup>2</sup> إليه كلفه الله<sup>3</sup> أن يحمله<sup>4</sup> على  
كاهله والمواظبة<sup>5</sup> على التواضع وهكذا كان علماء السلف  
الصالح<sup>6</sup>

نقل عن أبي حنيفة رحمه الله أنه لما عرض عليه  
الخليفة القضاء فأبى عن ذلك تمسكا بقوله عليه السلام  
من جعل قاضيا فقد ذبح بغير سكين وبقوله عليه  
السلام القضاء ثلاثة قاضيان في النار وقاض في الجنة  
وهذا من ورعه ودينه وتمسكا بالحديث فلما حضر  
بين يدي<sup>7</sup> الخليفة وعرض عليه القضاء فأبى فعمري  
وضرب حتى ظهر أثر الضرب على ظهره<sup>8</sup> وسال منه  
الدم فشاوور أصحابه فقالوا ما رأيت المصلحة فهو الحق وقال  
أبو يوسف لا بأس بذلك فإن فيه نفع الناس فقال  
كأنني مبكت قاضيا ثم دخل المنصور على أبي حنيفة<sup>9</sup>  
وعزاه<sup>10</sup> فيما فعل وقال هذا فقيه العراق ثم استدعاه

والمواظبة B<sup>5</sup>. محمله B<sup>4</sup>. تعالى P adds<sup>3</sup>. يحتاج B<sup>2</sup>. بنى B<sup>1</sup>.

رضي الله عنهم اجمعين P om. Thereafter P finishes as follows: رضي عنا بهم وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد اشرف المرسلين وخاتم النبيين [P النبيين] والمحمد لله رب العالمين ورضي عن آله وصحبه الطيبين الطاهرين وأزواجه وذريته وأتباعه إلى يوم الدين والمحمد لله رب العالمين عزله B<sup>10</sup>. الخليفة B<sup>9-8</sup>. طهره B<sup>8</sup>. سن يدي B<sup>7-6</sup>.

وأمر له بدل كل جلد<sup>1</sup> بألف درهم فقيل إنه ضرب  
 خمسين سوطاً ثم عرض عليه<sup>2</sup> القضاء<sup>3</sup> فقال لا أصلح له  
 ثم عاد عليه فقال لا يخلو<sup>4</sup> الأمر من أنني صادق أم  
 كاذب فإن كنت صادقاً فلا يجوز<sup>5</sup> لك تولية من ليس  
 بصالح له وإن كنت كاذباً فلا يجوز لك تولية الكاذب  
 وهكذا نقل عن أبي الليث السمرقندي أنه كان  
 ورعاً محافظاً على الدين حتى قال منذ كذا سنة لم  
 يكتب عليّ صاحب الشمال شيئاً بالنسبة أي علمه  
 بمحافظته على الدين وقد صحبه بعض الطلاب خدمة  
 وتعلمة مدة ولم يسمع منه كلمة واحدة من الغيبة فإن  
 شرع أحد عنده في الغيبة أطرق رأسه إعراساً عنه  
 ولا يواجهه<sup>7</sup> بالمنع لئلا يتأذى خاطره<sup>8</sup> وقبله وإن كان  
 بالحق

وكذلك الإمام جمال الدين المحبوني في بخارا<sup>10</sup>  
 وكان قتيها زاهداً متورعاً له وظائف<sup>11</sup> في العبادات

<sup>1</sup> الف. B<sup>2</sup> عليه. B<sup>3</sup> القضاء. B<sup>4</sup> يخلو. B<sup>5</sup> صادقاً. B<sup>6</sup> يجوز. B<sup>7</sup> يواجهه. B<sup>8</sup> خاطره. B<sup>9</sup> جمال. B<sup>10</sup> بخارا. B<sup>11</sup> وظائف. B

البدنية والاشتغال بالعلم والتعلم لم يشتغل بأحد قط  
 فإذا قيل له فلان سيئ العمل قال قال صلى الله عليه  
 وسلم من حسن إسلام المرء تركه ما لا يعنيه وقال عليه  
 السلام ابدأ بنفسك ثم بمن تعول فمن كانت نفسه  
 ناقصة فلا يجوز<sup>1</sup> له الاشتغال بغيره

هكذا كان دأب الفقهاء المتقدمين وفقهاء هذا  
 الزمان بخلاف ذلك فيهم الحرص والطمع والتردد إلى  
 أبواب الملوك والتكلم في أعراض الناس ومداومة الغيبة  
 قال عليه السلام الغيبة أشد من الزنا وقال عليه السلام  
 الغيبة أن تذكر أخاك بما<sup>3</sup> يكره فقال رجل يرسول<sup>4</sup> الله  
 إن كان في أخي ما أقوله قال صلى الله عليه وسلم إن  
 كان في أخيك ما تقول فقد اغتبته<sup>5</sup> وإن لم يكن فقد  
 بهته<sup>6</sup> وقال صلى الله عليه وسلم لا تحاسدوا ولا تباغضوا  
 ولا تدابروا وكونوا عباد الله إخوانا كل المسلم على كل  
 المسلم حرام عرضه ودمه وماله وتحاسدهم وتباغض بعضهم  
 بعضاً<sup>7</sup> ومداومة الغيبة والتكلم<sup>8</sup> في أعراض بعضهم بعضاً<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> يجوز. B <sup>2</sup> الرنا. B <sup>3</sup> ما. B <sup>4</sup> رسول. B <sup>5</sup> اغتبته. B

<sup>6</sup> بهته. B <sup>7</sup> بعضاً. B <sup>8</sup> والكلم. B <sup>9</sup> بعضاً. B

وعدم الحرص على تعلّم الشيء حقيقة بل قنع كلّ بقول  
غيره وليس له حرص على تعلّم الشيء حقيقة حقيقة  
المسألة وأصلها وكيفية استنباطها وتحقّق النصوص الدالة  
عليها والجواب عن المعارضات الواردة عليها وعدم احترام  
العلماء والصلحاء فظهر<sup>1</sup> بالأمر<sup>2</sup> الواقعة أنّ أفعال فقهاء  
الوقت وأمورهم وتفقههم<sup>3</sup> بالنسبة إلى الفقهاء الماضين في  
تورّعهم واجتهادهم ودينهم كحال فقراء الوقت بالنسبة إلى  
الأولياء الماضين فإن لاموا الفقراء في عدم جواز<sup>4</sup> سماعهم  
فإنهم ليسوا على شروط الأولياء الماضين<sup>5</sup> يأتي لهم اللوم  
عليهم في عدم [تأثير]<sup>7</sup> ما كان عليه الفقهاء الماضين<sup>8</sup>  
المتورّعين فإن لاموا الغير وأتوا بخلاف ما يجب عليهم  
توجّهه في حقّهم لم تقولون ما لا تفعلون كبر مقتا عند الله  
أن تقولوا ما لا تفعلون [وقوله]<sup>10</sup> تعالى أتأمرون الناس  
بالبرّ وتنسون أنفسكم<sup>11</sup>

جواز B<sup>4</sup>. وتفقههم B<sup>3</sup>. بالأمر B<sup>2</sup>. فظهر B<sup>1</sup>.

ناتي B<sup>6</sup>. الماضين B<sup>5</sup>.

That word is very faint. All that appears looks like ناة.

الوجه B<sup>9</sup>. الفقهاء B<sup>8</sup>.

The MS. is badly marked at this point. All that appears of this word is له.

بالبر B<sup>11</sup>.

ونختم الكتاب<sup>1</sup> بحمد الله وحسن توفيقه بحديث  
بلغنا عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم أنه قال إذا  
أمرتكم بشيء فأتوا منه ما استطعتم والله أعلم  
تم الكتاب بحمد<sup>2</sup> الله الذي به تتم الصالحات  
وتنزل البركات وبمشيئته كمل السعادات ومن عنده  
مقادير الموت والحياة والحمد لله وحده وصلى الله على  
سيدنا محمد وعلى<sup>3</sup> آله وصحبه وسلم

<sup>1</sup> الكتاب B.

<sup>2</sup> حمد B.

<sup>3</sup> وعلى B.

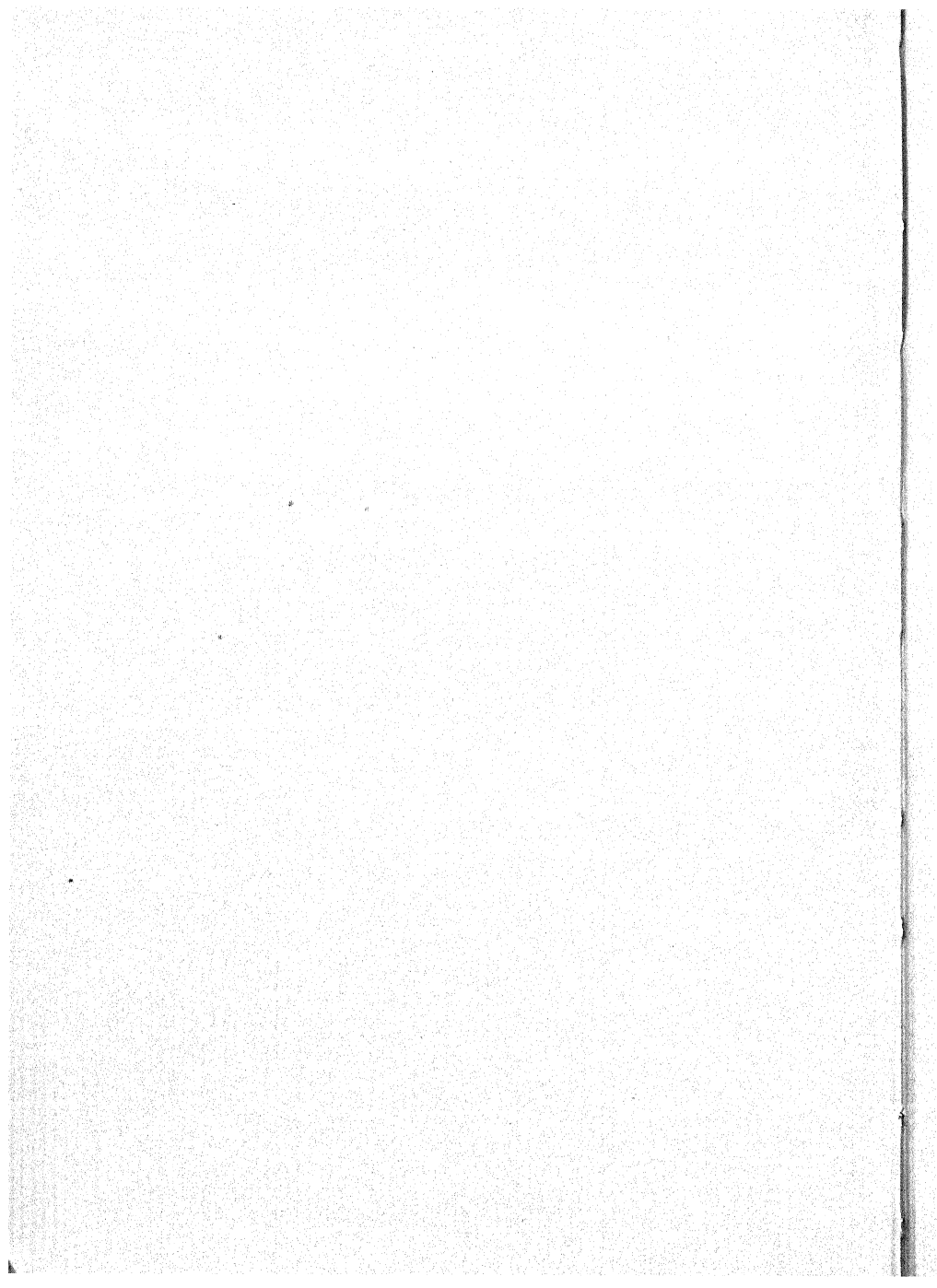
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